Daily Report

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'Thousands' Gather in Vlore To Flee to Italy

AU0403201891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Groups of people have recently escaped by force in various boats found in the port of Vlore and have illegally crossed the state border, fleeing to Italy. Besides breaking the laws that are in force, at a time when Albanian citizens are guaranteed the right to travel abroad under international regulations, these citizens have not even considered the risks that threaten them on such voyages from the weather, the poor technical condition of the boats, and the border guards, who have the duty to prevent border crossings in any direction without necessary permission.

Meanwhile, thousands of people have gathered in the port of Vlore and at Zvernec with the intention of repeating this illegal and dangerous act, some of them encouraged by groundless reports alleging that boats would come from Italy to receive them. A group of them has presently boarded a defective motorboat by force in the shipyard of the new harbor. Its embarkation would inevitably result in an accident if the boat set out into the open sea. Apart from the technically defective state of the vessel, the boat is filled four times beyond its capacity.

This gathering of people is causing difficulties and unpleasant situations for public order and for the peace of the residents of the city of Vlore. Local authorities are working to persuade these citizens to return to their homes. At the initiative of the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Councils, a meeting of representatives of all the political parties in Vlore was held today that approved a joint call appealing to citizens to maintain cool heads and common sense and to abandon such illegal and adventurist behavior, which could cause many casualties and problems.

PDSh Holds Rally in Kavaje; Elections Discussed

AU0203211791 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] The Democratic Party [PDSh] organized a rally in Kavaje this afternoon, attended by inhabitants of the town. Luan Skuqi, chairman of the Democratic Party's section for the town of Kavaje, opened the rally. The national anthem was sung and the release of doves, symbols of peace, reinforced the rally's message. Naim Kariqi was the first to speak. He said that the first section of this party, created in Kavaje, testified to the democratic movement of the town's citizens. We must not allow a single drop of blood to be shed, because democracy also implies deep humanism. PDSh Chairman Dr. Sali Berisha, greeted the rally in the name of the PDSh Managing Commission. It is a pleasure, he said, to gather at this rally today in the name of peace. Last week was a very difficult one for democracy, but it is to democracy's credit that the dark forces totally failed. The PDSh is now committed to ensuring free elections and, the people need peace to reach this goal. Our main duty, after this, is to train ourselves in a spirit of democracy, tolerance, understanding, and dialogue. This rally, Azem Hajdari said, is an expression of democracy and at the same time a blow against violence and dark forces. March began peacefully, and we will make every effort to ensure that it continues in the same way, so we will go to the polls calmly and in peace. Neritan Ceka pointed out that Kavaje today is greeting democracy with flowers and doves. This rally conveys the great message of peace. Meanwhile, (?Luan Vesili) underlined the importance of calm, maturity, and tolerance in order to conduct genuinely free elections. Afrim (?Jusi), Besim Alaj, Xhemal (?Urusi), Arian Mika, (?Abdyl Spasso) and (?Vaso Llafo) also greeted the rally on behalf of the Democratic Party's sections in the districts of Vlore, Elbasan, Shkoder, Fier, Lushnje, and Durres.

Cameria Association Holds Conference in Tirana

AU0303204091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] The Cameria Political and Patriotic Association held its first conference for the creation of its Tirana branch in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture in Tirana this morning. Members and sympathizers of this association from Tirana and other districts inhabited by the Cam population took part. The conference was opened by [name indistinct]. The teacher Petrit [name indistinct] spoke in the name of the Initiating Commission for the creation of the association's branch, and stressed that this association strives to attain its goals in accordance with the principles and rules of the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the documents of the CSCE, using all the legitimate means they offer. It has the mission to express, protect, and represent the fundamental individual and collective rights and legitimate interests of the Albanian population of Cameria. He also said that the association's activity is marked by a democratic spirit, and that, in the situation through which our country is passing, the Cam population, like all the Albanian people, needs prudence, dignity, and labor to surmount the situation.

Remzi Syla, member of the Initiating Commission for the creation of this branch, then presented the Cameria Political and Patriotic Association's draft program and draft statute. Those present asked questions, made suggestions, and expressed views on how to add to them. Abaz (?Bejaka) greeted the conference In the name of the Initiating Commission for the creation of this association, and answered participants' questions, while Afrim (?Ceto) greeted the conference in the name of the Lushnje, Berat, and Fier branches.

In conclusion, the conference elected managing committees for the branch.

Foreign Ministry Discusses Diplomatic Activities

AU0203211991 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] A news conference was organized today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with journalists of the state press and that of the political parties and social organizations. Foreign Ministry Spokesman Sazan Bejo informed the press about certain forthcoming foreign policy activities of our state, such as the visit to our country of the UN General Assembly delegation headed by Guido de Marco, chairman of the Assembly's 45th session, which starts today; the visit of Mother Teresa and the opening of a charitable institution in Tirana; and the visits of the Italian parliamentary delegation, headed by Flaminio Piccoli, the International Helsinki Federation headed by its chairman Bjorn Enquist, and an IMF delegation. He also reported to journalists about the problems these delegations will discuss with the relevant bodies.

The spokesman also reported to those present about our country's diplomatic activity in connection with the employment of Albanian citizens abroad. He reported that the possibility of achieving state agreements about this problem has been discussed with a number of European countries, but that no specific step has yet been taken by any of these countries.

Answering questions, he explained that the Foreign Ministry is seriously engaged in tackling this problem, not only in European countries, but in countries beyond this continent. The spokesman also answered other questions relating to this report for the press.

UN General Assembly Chairman Pays Visit

Arrives; Met by Officials

AU0203201291 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Guido de Marco, chairman of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly and deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the Republic of Malta, arrived in our country today for an official and friendly visit at the invitation of the foreign minister of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani, Education Minister Kastriot Islami, Foreign Ministry officials, etc. came to Rinas Airport to welcome him. Officials from the diplomatic representations accredited to Tirana were also present.

Meets With Prime Minister Nano

AU0403140891 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 4 (ATA)—On March 3 afternoon, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Fatos Nano, received at the seat of the Council of Ministers the chairman of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly Guido de Marco, vice-prime minister, minister of foreign affairs and justice of Malta, and had a warm and friendly talk with him.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Fatos Nano, evaluated the important role of the United Nations Organization [UNO] in defence of peace and international security and underlined that the activity of Albania in this organization keeps increasing.

Speaking of the situation in the country, the prime minister, Fatos Nano, dwelt in particular in the process of democratization going on in our country. He informed the chairman of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly of the actual program of the political, economic, and legislative reforms undertaken by the Albanian state. The March 31 parliamentary elections, he stressed, mark an important stage towards the consolidation of a pluralistic society in Albania. He concentrated particularly on the questions of economic reform, in which he underlined the efforts towards the creation of a new mechanism of the market economy, process to be carried out gradually. The government is trying to adopt the basic principles of the market economy and the juridical state, he said further on, with the Albanian reality, drawing the respective lessons from the positive and negative experience of our country and other countries.

The priority of our economic philosophy, he underlined, included reduction of investments in heavy industry, the new orientation of the economic efforts towards light and foodstuff industry, tourism and other activities which make possible the quickest possible overcoming of the difficult situation in the balance of payments as a result of the problems created recently.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers voiced the stand of the Albanian Government to integrate the country completely in the international life. The Presidential Council and the new government, he said, will make everything possible to ensure a normal development of the processes of democratization, overcoming every obstacle.

After thanking for the warm reception extended to him in our country, the chairman of the UN General Assembly, Guido de Marco pointed out the positive evaluations in the UN circles of the speech of President Ramiz Alia at the 45th Session of the General Assembly.

Further on he said that the UNO is experiencing a transitory period after the end to the "cold war" towards the consolidation of its role. This was manifested in its important commitment in the solution of the Persian Gulf crisis. Guido de Marco underlined that Albania, like all the countries of the world, in spite of its size, has an important role to play in the UNO. I hope, he said, that the politicians in Europe and broader will understand well that stability in Albania is important for the stability in the Balkans and in Europe. He underlined also the need of Albania's acceptance as a full member in the CSCE which will be a step forward not only for Albania, but for the CSCE process itself.

The chairman of the UN General Assembly expressed his support for the processes of democratization in Albania and underlined that Albania should be backed up unconditionally without waiting for the March 31 elections. The greatest victory in these elections, de Marco underlined, should be considered the creation of a pluralistic parliament and not the great number of votes a certain party may win.

Attending the reception was also the vice minister of foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka.

Received by President Alia

AU0403212691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received Guido de Marco, chairman of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly, at the Palace of Brigades this morning.

Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed a welcome to Mr. Guido de Marco and hoped that his visit and noble mission would be conducted successfully. We have looked forward to and prepared for this visit, he said, as an important event in our political life, and we consider it an honor paid to Albania and its people.

Last year, Comrade Ramiz continued, we had the great pleasure of welcoming here Mr. Perez de Cuellar, United Nations secretary-general, whose noble work for peace and security enjoys a great deal of respect and admiration here, as it does throughout the world. With your visit, we hope that relations between the United Nations and my small country will embark conclusively on a new phase.

I avail myself of this meeting, on behalf the Albanian state and government and the country's highest authorities, to thank the United Nations for the interest it is showing in Albania, and I guarantee that the Albanian people appreciate this concern and will always be worthy of it.

We in Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, think the United Nations has succeeded in playing an increasingly powerful role in maintaining general security and peace, as has been proved once again in the case of its condemnation of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait; however, it may also exert an influence on the world's harmonious economic development, particularly on a wider democratization of international relations. We think, he said, that highly suitable conditions for this have now been created.

Comrade Ramiz Alia then spoke at length with Mr. Guido de Marco, chairman of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly, about the political situation and the recent democratic developments in Albania. The processes of democratization, which I had the chance to talk about with Mr. Perez de Cuellar a year ago, have advanced much further than was expected at that time. If we were then subjectively determined not to turn back, democratization is now objectively irrevocable. Democracy has become a way of life for the entire people; no one can hinder it or turn it back. Our society was organized on the basis of multiparty system within a very short time.

Comrade Ramiz Alia then explained the scale of the development of democratic freedoms. The press, he said, has now become entirely free and pluralist. I may assure you that there is no hindrance to freedom of conscience, including religion. There is no legal or practical restriction to the movement of people within the country or abroad, just as there is no further obstacle to any kind of communication with the world, the exchange of information, books, etc. Our state will spare no efforts to ensure the exercise of freedoms and universal rights at the level of international standards.

Comrade Ramiz Alia later said that our entire legislation is being seriously revised to further democratize it in accordance with the most advanced democratic values and norms. The new People's Assembly will approve a new constitution whose draft the people have discussed at length. This constitution, which constitutes the basis of the rule of law and future laws, will recognize citizens' legitimate rights to property, free initiative on an individual or collective basis, and self-motivation that will benefit both the individual and society.

Talking later about the election campaign, Comrade Ramiz Alia said that the new elections to the People's Assembly will be conducted at the end of this month. Every measure has been taken to ensure that they will be entirely democratic and pluralist. Foreign observers will have the opportunity to come and verify this on the spot.

We will make every effort to ensure that the electoral campaign, an political argument among various the forces in general, will be conducted correctly and in a democratic spirit. It is precisely for this reason and proceeding from the lofty interests of the country and its future that we have appealed to the entire people for self-restraint and prudence, so we may build together the democratic life we all wish. We emphasize that the assembly and not the street should be the place where the will, sovereignty, and power of the people are expressed.

What we need now is a legislature, emerging from the free, democratic, and pluralist elections, that will conclude the first stage of the process of democratization and will become the foundation and means to build on it, carrying it ahead to the benefit of all our people. In the future, we should provide the opportunity for the people to choose the alternative they prefer. Political dialogue should be conducted for thus purpose. Dialogue cannot be conducted either with hot heads and inflamed passions, in mass rallies, but only in peaceful discussion.

Comrade Ramiz Alia later talked spoke to his honored guest about the stand of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania toward European, Balkan, and Mediterranean processes. He focused in particular on the relations between Malta and Albania, as two small countries, but countries of special importance because of their geographical position in this

basin. Comrade Ramiz Alia and Mr. De Marco agreed to further promote and develop relations between their two countries at a faster pace.

After thanking the president for this meeting and the warm welcome extended to him in Albania, Guido de Marco, chairman of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly, said that the democratic developments in your country testify to the fact that Albania wishes to become an active participant of the international community and to enhance its role and contribution. I convey, he said, best wishes from Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar and congratulations on the initiatives you have launched, for which Mr. Perez de Cuellar is sincerely grateful to you. Through your example, Mr. President, you have striven to make convince the newly created political forces in Albania that democracy is also an immense responsibility for the nation. The importance of the March 31 elections, he emphasized, does not so much lie in the question of who wins, but in the fact that for the first time, under your leadership, Albania will have a pluralist legislature.

Expressing his approval and support for the efforts made by Albania to integrate itself with dignity, its culture, and its individuality in the fold of the European family, he emphasized that these efforts demand full solidarity on the part of the international community, the United Nations, and the CSCE. He committed himself to contributing personally to this as chairman of the Assembly.

After speaking of his meetings in Tirana with representatives of political forces, Guido de Marco said that they are creating a sense of maturity and tolerance and that they consider the president as a point of reference for democracy and the rule of law.

Further on, Mr. Guido de Marco focused on the importance of consolidating bilateral relations between Malta and Albania in the interests of our two peoples and cooperation and security in the Mediterranean.

He also talked about the importance of a conference on cooperation and security in the Mediterranean, which belongs to the future, but that should be thought about today.

Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani also attended the meeting, which was held in a friendly and constructive spirit.

Holds News Conference

AU0403215591 Tirana ATA in English 1820 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 4 (ATA)—Today, morning, the chairman of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly, Guido de Marco, gave a press conference in one of the halls of the "Dajti" Hotel in Tirana, which was attended by representatives of ATA, the Radio-TV, organs of political parties, and foreign journalists who are in our country.

After voicing his satisfaction on his visit to our country, Mr. Guido de Marco said among others that it coincides with the important developments of the democratic process in Albania.

Then he responded to the questions of the local and foreign journalists concerning various problems, such as the March 31 elections, the role of the political parties on the deepening of the democratizing processes, the endeavours of the government to overcome the economic difficulties, etc. Amongst others, Mr. Guido de Marco emphasized that the UNO [United Nations Organization] too, through its organisms will make its contrbution to overcoming the economic difficulties in Albania. The UNO, he said, is interested in the conduct of free and democratic elections in Albania. Mr. Guido de Marco assessed the contribution of President Ramiz Alia to the further deepening of the processes of democratization of the country and his realist vision regarding the situation. The chairman of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly underscored that in meetings he had had with senior officials of the government, representatives of political parties etc., he noticed the concern to overcome quickly the situation, to conduct free elections, to forge ahead the democratic processes etc.

Mr Guido de Marco pointed out that this country, relying on the historic traditions of sovereignty and independence and on its own resources, will find the way to march toward democracy, observing human rights and free will of the Albanian people. In conclusion, he voiced his confidence that Albania will fully participate in the current and future European processes and will become a member on equal footing in the international community.

Italian Parliamentary Delegation Pays Visit

Arrives; Met by Officials

AU0403213391 Tirana ATA in English 1826 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 4 (ATA)—An Italian parliamentary delegation headed by the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the House of Deputies of this Parliament, Flaminio Piccoli, arrived on official and friendly visit to on March 4, at the invitation of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania. The delegation is made up also of representatives of various Italian political parties.

At Rinas Airport, the delegation was received by the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj; the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly in the last legislature, Petro Dode; the member of the Presidential Council, Rexhep Mejdani, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and others.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary of the Italian Republic to the PSR of Albania, Torquato Cardilli.

Meets People's Assembly Secretary

AU0403213791 Tirana ATA in English 1928 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 4 (ATA)—On March 4, morning, the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj, received at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the House of Deputies of the Italian Parliament, Flaminio Piccoli, as well as the parliamentary representatives of various political parties accompanying him in this visit.

During the reception, which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere, Sihat Tozaj expressed his satisfaction on this visit the parliamentary delegation is paying to our country and appreciated the willingness expressed by the Italian Parliament and Government towards the democratic developments in Albania. Since your first visit to our country, he said to Mr. Piccoli, many perceptible changes have occurred in the deepening of the process of democratization, both in the political field with the establishment of the multiparty system, the improvement of legislation on the growth of economy, in the field of human rights, the work carried out to make amendments to the country's Constitution, etc. This visit, he continued further on, will contribute to the further strengthening of cooperation between the two parliaments and will give a further impulse to the relations between Italy and Albania in various fields and particularly in the economic one. At the same time he voiced his conviction that the Italian Parliament will influence its government to speed up and materialize as soon as possible the signed agreements and their enlargement in the future.

On his part, Flaminio Piccoli after thanking for this invitation, pointed out that the visit of the Italian parliamentarians to Albania has two main objectives: Firstly, Italy will resume immediately a strong dialogue with the Albanian party for a genuine cooperation, adding that the delay in this direction would be harmful to both countries. The second objective, he said, is to see to the seriousness the democratization process is developing in your country. He noticed with satisfaction that democratization in the conditions of political pluralism is further promoting and expressed his belief that, through the steps undertaken, Albania is going towards its integration with the European processes. The Italian Parliament and Government, he said, will contribute to this direction.

Answering to the questions of the different parliamentary representatives on problems of the electoral campaign, the fleeing of many Albanians to Italy recently, etc., Sihat Tozaj said that all the political parties are created equal conditions for a normal development of this campaign to conduct free elections. As regards to the people's departure he said, we have to do here with an economic rather than a political emigration and that the Albanian Government has made efforts to prevent this illegal departure.

Present at the meeting were also the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly in the last legislature, Petro Dode; the member of the Presidential Council, Rexhep Mejdani, and others.

Present was also the Italian ambassador in Tirana, Torquato Cardilli.

LDK Leader Rugova on 'Kosovo Question'

AU0103170391 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 25 Feb 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Kosovo Democratic Alliance, LDK, Chairman Ibrahim Rugova by Astrit Karadaku; place and date not given: "We Are an Ancient People With Strong Roots, But We Must Work Harder"]

[Text] [Karadaku] Welcoming you on behalf of our readers, we would like to learn more about the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK]. We have learned about its work through the press, radio, and television, but it is something different to hear about it directly from its chairman.

[Rugova] The LDK is the largest organization in Kosovo. It has 700,000 members in branches and sub branches in every town, village, settlement, and neighborhood of Kosovo. It also has branches and sub branches abroad, from Australia to Alaska, in the United States, wherever an Albanian's problems have taken him. The LDK involves a large majority of the people, regardless of party criteria. We can say that trust has been created among its members. At the same time, we can say that it is a leading party in Kosovo, where there are also five other parties.

[Karadaku] What differences are there among them?

[Rugova] Where the national cause, the position of Kosovo, the treatment of the Albanians, and an attitude to Albania are concerned, I would say there are no differences among them. We have differences in our attitude to democracy.

[Karadaku] What are the chances of solving the problem of Kosovo?

[Rugova] The overwhelming majority of the population and we, as an alliance, are working to solve this question in a European spirit, by peaceful means, and with dialogue and respect for familiar human rights, without violating them. All the political parties in Kosovo insist that our people will not lose, but will win.

[Karadaku] What consensus exists in Yugoslavia for solving the Kosovo question?

[Rugova] We have contacts with many political parties within Yugoslavia. We have also had similar contacts with state leaders of the republics and we are working to increase them. Appreciation exists, and this is apparent when it is said that the future of the peoples of Yugoslavia cannot be decided without the Albanians.

[Karadaku] You have mustered support outside Yugoslavia and this is evident in the publicly expressed standpoints of the European Parliament, the Senate and House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, and many other international organizations. How have you been able to spread awareness among the foreign public and persuade it to speak out in favor of a just solution of the Albanian problem in Kosovo?

[Rugova] It is true that our cause has gained a greater reputation in Europe and the United States than in Yugoslavia, where there is a kind of fragmentation; I would say that this is absurd and ironic. Meanwhile, we have been able to better affirm the demands and aspirations of the Albanian people abroad, where Kosovo and the LDK are considered to have an equal share in Yugoslavia's future. This required a great deal of work to spread the demands of the Albanians of Kosovo throughout the world. This has been the greatest achievement of the LDK's work.

[Karadaku] In your view, who is most responsible for this success?

[Rugova] I would say that it mostly to the credit of the people, their ability to organize, and their great assistance. We as an alliance are in a straitened position in Yugoslavia, and the Serbian regime does not allow us to operate legally in any way. All open activities and gatherings are prohibited for the Albanians, and some chairmen and deputy chairmen of branches are now in prison for misdemeanors. We are not allowed to open bank accounts to finance the Alliance's normal activities; however, the energetic organization of the people triumphs over all these difficulties. Our great vitality is indomitable. We showed the Alliance's great vitality last spring when we routed the Kosovo League of Communists.

[Karadaku] What do you think about the democratic processes in Albania?

[Rugova] I have closely followed events in Albania more from the international media, because I would say that our national media have still not been consolidated. In the two or three days I have spent here, I have had the opportunity to get to know democratic reality from contacts with various personalities, President Ramiz Alia, political parties, and from what I have seen myself. I would say that it would better for us to act with cool heads, to not slacken the pace of the democratic process. To avoid the events like those of recent days, the ruling Albanian Workers' Party and the other political parties should be calm and moderate, putting aside feuds and hostilities. They must understand that pluralism is a factor of unity and is to Albania's benefit. Pluralism also leads to the free and smooth elections that we all want. When the new government is formed, everything will be done in a legal way and I hope that the new parliament that will emerge from the elections will be a firm foundation for all democratic processes. All citizens can contribute to creating conditions for free elections. You in Albania can do this more easily. Every one must realize that there must be tolerance and open discussion among the parties, and things must not be considered matters of life or death for one party or another. This is also necessary because of the serious economic situation, because the old economic system is changing, and you have still not created the new one. I think the government should temporarily do more to intervene to improve the general supply of the market under these conditions, because it must be obvious to us that there are levels of society that cannot wait for these changes. This is a reasonable thing to do and should assume priority. As for the elections, it is important for the parties to take care to ensure that political forces compete freely, led by national and democratic aims.

[Karadaku] What do you think about strengthening inter-Albanian cooperation?

[Rugova] We have established contacts with different parties, but opportunities exist to strengthen these contacts for the common good of Albania. With this in mind, I think general steps should be taken to ensure the free movement of Albanians throughout the territories where they live and work. Let us not be frightened that Albanians will emigrate, because they may go elsewhere and work, but they will come back. We experienced this phenomenon in the seventies, but the Albanians who left have come back, because their homes are very dear to them, and that is where they feel most comfortable. I am therefore in favor of free inter-Albanian travel, in a European way. I am convinced that this will be easier for us in the future, but tangible steps should be taken now. Let us learn lessons from history about this, abandoning simple prescriptions. We are an ancient people with strong roots, but we must work harder.

[Karadaku] What would you like to say to the newspaper BASHKIMI, and how do you think ties within the all-Albanian press can be strengthened? What are the prospects for this press?

[Rugova] I welcome the work of BASHKIMI, especially its involvement in democratic processes, which I have noticed when I have been able to read the paper. There are good articles, which are read, but I would like it to become a newspaper of unity [bashkimi] not simply in a metaphorical sense. Unfortunately for us, we cannot follow closely the newspapers published here, because they are not sold in Pristina and other Kosovo towns, in the way that newspapers published in Kosovo or beyond are sold. Our newspapers could also be sold in Tirana. This could become a reciprocal arrangement as soon as possible, so when we get up in the morning we will read the all-Albanian press. I think that, for your part, you could publish more articles about Kosovo. They could be shorter, so that people read them more, and more flexible. It would be a good thing for us both to have our reporters in Pristina and Tirana, who will see reality at close quarters. Ignorance of reality is a major obstacle.

[Karadaku] Thank you.

Kapllani Receives Soviet Charge d'Affaires

AU0103212391 Tirana ATA in English 1857 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 1 (ATA)—On March 1, the foreign minister of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani received the interim Charge d'Affaires of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics Vyacheslav Petrovich Durnev, on occasion of the opening of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana.

Views were exchanged at this meeting on the possibilities for the development and materialization of bilateral relations in fields of mutual interest. The meeting passed in a friendly atmosphere. Likewise it was spoken on the problems of the current international situation.

President Zhelev Meets With PRC's Qian Qichen

AU0403154591 Sofia BTA in English 1458 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev and China's Foreign Minister Qian Qichen believe there are no obstacles to the development of the two countries' cooperation because they have no conflicting interests.

Mr. Qian Qichen, who came on an official visit here on Saturday, was received by Dr. Zhelev today.

They both agree that Bulgaro-Chinese contacts should take a qualitatively new form by establishing relations between definite spheres, enterprises and companies.

China's foreign minister pointed out that the changes in Bulgaria are useful for the future bilateral contacts which will be based on mutual interest and independent policy.

Later on he pointed out in his statements that he had familiarized himself with the changes in Bulgaria and discussed the ways and prospects for the development of bilateral relations in the new conditions. "We believe that when a country opts for a change and chooses a new road it is her own internal affair, whatever the changes may be. The people itself must take the decisions," the Chinese foreign minister pointed out.

Mr. Qian Qichen said that after the ceasefire in the Persian Gulf the problem of regional security should be solved by the countries in that region through consultations. The foreign armies should withdraw and the UN Security Council should go on playing an important role in this respect.

Asked how the countries most gravely affected by the Gulf crisis, Bulgarian included, could be compensated for it, the Chinese foreign minister said, "as we know, the UN Security Council has discussed the problem of compensations to the seriously affected countries."

Qian's Official Visit Ends

AU0403110191 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] The official visit to Bulgaria of Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen has ended. Today he was received by President Zhelyu Zhelev. Prior to his departure from Bulgaria the Chinese Foreign Minister expressed his satisfaction with the brief but essential visit. Particularly for Bulgarian Radio, he pointed out that the opportunity to directly acquaint himself with the changes that took place in Bulgaria, and the experience that was exchanged at the highest level, were very important for him.

Qian Qichen also expressed his satisfaction with the fact that conditions have been created for constructing Bulgarian-Chinese relations on a fundamentally new basis.

Social Democratic Party on Ethnic Issue

AU0503081791 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian 27 Feb 91 pp 1, 2

["Statement of the Executive Council and the Legislative Group of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party on the Nationality Issue, Ethnic Relations, and Bulgaria's Presence in the Modern World: Social Democracy and Ethnic Issue"]

[Text] The Socialist International's declaration of principles reads:

"Common survival and development require cooperation and civilized forms of dispute even between antagonistic forces and ideas. Therefore we reject and denounce every form of religious and political fundamentalism."

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] clearly understands that unresolved nationality issues and ethnic contradictions aggravate the processes of the nations' emancipation and integration. The hope that communism will eliminate the nationality issue in a natural way, proved as illusionary as communism itself. Furthermore, it was precisely the communist regimes that strengthened and complicated even such contradictions as could be resolved.

The nationality issue is not a Bulgarian or a Balkan issue, but a universal problem. It is a consequence of the complicated and versatile historical process that springs from the practical impossibility of achieving a balance in the nation-territory-state equation. Simultaneously, one must clearly point out the circumstances that produced and complicated the Bulgarian ethnic issue: the geographic location; the difficult process of forming the state-national units in the Balkans; the policy of the great powers, which pursued their own interest since the time of the national revival; the complex relations with the neighboring countries; the imprudent and inconsistent policy of the past; and the grave heritage of national catastrophes.

The problems have been further complicated by the erroneous and inconsistent policy of the Communist Party on the ethnic issue, which became the official Bulgarian policy for more than 40 years. Indeed, national values have been relinquished and distortions and mistakes committed. This produced grave consequences.

The BSDP will categorically defend the historical truth on the emergence and development of our ethnic issue. We think that the Bulgarians who live outside the borders of the motherland are a part of our nation, regardless of the reasons that have separated them from the motherland. Civic belonging to any state must not preclude man's right to national awareness.

Simultaneously, the need to finally normalize ethnic relations in our country, brought to a crisis by the approach of the communist government, became an essential problem of the democracy that is being constructed in our country. The BSDP opposes in principle every attempt to impose national awareness by violent

means. Therefore we view the manifestation of orchestrated nationalism as an attribute of the agonizing dictatorships and an attempt against the democratic right to freedom in determining the ethnic and religious belonging.

For us, compulsory national unification and the preaching of chauvinism, separatism, and intolerance are equally inadmissible. The BSDP is against the establishment of political parties and internal state structures on ethnic and religious principles.

As far as language study is concerned, we maintain that the state must guarantee conditions for the optional study of the mother language of Bulgarian citizens with different ethnic awareness, while controlling this process and preventing it from contradicting the official study program.

Time convincingly shows for more than one century the nationality problem and ethnic relations were lodged in the foundation of the foreign policy conducted by our state. A correct attitude toward this issue will give a new meaning to the well-known phrase "consistent peace policy." We support the conduct of precisely such a policy.

In the view of the BSDP, the Balkan peninsula must turn from an explosive zone into a territory of benevolence and real cooperation, based on the willingness and efforts of all states. We clearly understand that we are located at the crossroads between two world civilizations—The Muslim East and Christian West—and view the rejection of political and religious fundamentalism as a guarantee of this European region's future. In the next century our continent must become an example of civilized relations and tolerance, in which ethnic versatility becomes an enriching factor, rather than an obstacle.

The BSDP views Bulgaria's future from an international point of view in being an active and full-fledged member of the future united Europe, in which there will be no place for confrontation between military blocs or alliances. We shall consistently follow a regional, continental, and world line of cooperation and good will in accordance with the positions of the Socialist International and the United Nations—powerful factors in detente and reliable factors for mankind's future in the next century.

Minister Vulkov Comments on Warsaw Pact

AU0403161091 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 26 Feb 91 p 1

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Viktor Vulkov by Radka Nenova in Budapest; date not given—"Warsaw Pact Without Uniform and Rank"—first two paragraphs are OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK introduction]

[Text] The military organization of the Warsaw Pact already is a part of the historic past. On 25 February at the extraordinary meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact, which took place in Budapest, the documents were signed, which marked the end of the organization's role in Eastern Europe's collective security.

Our delegation was led by Foreign Affairs Minister Viktor Vulkov and Defense Minister Yordan Mutafchiev. Minister Vulkov answered OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK questions.

[Nenova] A form of Eastern Europe's collective security was eliminated. What is the Bulgarian concept of further guaranteeing the country's security?

[Vulkov] There are two roads. The first—we must as soon as possible become a part of the European structures and integrate ourselves within the all-European standards and security systems; the other road—to construct other security measures on the basis of bilateral relations, by preserving the old bilateral treaties and concluding new and well-planned ones. Such treaties must be signed first of all with our neighbors.

[Nenova] The military organization was eliminated. How will the Warsaw Pact continue to function as a political organization?

[Vulkov] This is a question that so far has not received a conclusive answer. In our opinion, this could continue until the end of the year. As a matter of fact, this is the opinion of President Zhelev, as he stated it at his talks with President Havel. Some people think that the organization could function until March 1992, but there is another idea, according to which the organization's future must be discussed at a meeting in July 1991.

[Nenova] What is your attitude toward the tripartite cooperation between Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary?

[Vulkov] We follow this cooperation with interest. We see ourselves as participants in the near future. We have been assured by the three countries that they will not discriminate against any other state.

Mutafchiev on Pact Meeting

AU0403161391 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 26 Feb 91 p 4

[Interview with Defense Minister Colonel General Yordan Mutafchiev by Vanya Encheva in Sofia; date not given: "Memories Were Left in Budapest"]

[Text] [Encheva] Mr. General, in the last 35 years we put our hope in the Warsaw Pact. Now we advance toward dismantling the organization. Could you share your thoughts on this matter?

[Mutafchiev] We signed a protocol in Budapest, according to which all military agreements and the Warsaw Pact's military structures will cease to exist after 1 April 1991. Now perhaps it is difficult to profoundly and comprehensively assess the role of this pact. I would like to point out that it emerged as a pact that had an exclusively defensive character. Naturally, there also were some negative aspects. We are yet to fully and

comprehensively assess the Warsaw Pact's role. Nevertheless, now we live under conditions of the new realities, and the elimination of military structures is an objective consequence of those realities.

[Encheva] According to you, what can guarantee our security now?

[Mutafchiev] This is a question of a general interest. I think that our security will be based on the all-European structures, which are yet to be constructed, and which will be based on the Paris CSCE meeting. I will also point out that strengthening bilateral relations is one of the main factors in guaranteeing our national security. Developing bilateral cooperation on the basis of bilateral treaties, mutual confidence, and good-neighborly relations, is one of the main roads of guaranteeing mutual security.

BSDP Congress To Open 23 March

AU0503102891 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
1 Mar 91 p 2

[Boris Kostadinov report: "Bulgarian Social Democratic Party Invites SDS but Not BSP to Its Congress"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party has not been invited to participate in the 38th Regular Congress of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP], which will open on 23 March at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia. This was announced on 28 February at a news conference organized by the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party.

Some 70 foreign parties and the leadership of the Socialist International have been invited to take part in the congress. The parties that form the Union of Democratic Forces, have also been invited, Ruen Krumov announced.

We do not intend to defend Todor Zhivkov. We would not like to see him slaughtered like Ceausescu, Petur Kornazhev said, thus expressing the attitude of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party to Zhivkov's trial.

Fatherland Labor Party Leaves National Assembly

AU0503101891 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
1 Mar 91 p 1

[Boyka Bashlieva report: "Fatherland Labor Party Leaves Parliament"]

[Text] The Fatherland Labor Party left the Grand National Assembly, and as of today Mr. Dimitur Arnaudov, elected on the basis of the majority system, will represent only the Kurdzhali voters. Fatherland Labor Party Chairman Rumen Popov announced this and stressed that the party does not strip Mr. Arnaudov of its confidence, but rather the entire Grand National Assembly. The reason: the Grand National Assembly's attempts to discuss the ethnic issue and policy as a whole in a fragmentary manner.

Recently, Khristo Karamanolov, secretary of the provisional executive committee in Kurdzhali, proposed to adopt a moratorium on the part of the state services and political forces, on discussing and resolving separate aspects of the ethnic issue prior to adopting the new constitution and working out lasting national policy.

The Fatherland Labor Party supports this proposal. In a letter addressed to President Zhelev, the party proposes to immediately convene a meeting of the leaders of all political forces in our country and coordinate the moratorium's text. Otherwise, the Fatherland Labor Party will rescind its signature under the political agreement on preserving social peace, Rumen Popov said.

Lukanov Visits Ruse; Supports Popov Government

AU0403175591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
27 Feb 91 p 2

[Galina Antonova report]

[Text] Ruse, 26 February—The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] cannot be eliminated as a political force. Now we are a party that relinquished the totalitarian approaches and political monopoly. Democratic processes in our country are possible only with the participation of all political forces, and we must treat them as partners.

This is how Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, began his dialogue with the 1,200 Ruse citizens, who came to the hall of the transportation workers' culture club and the square in front of the club.

Andrey Lukanov pointed out that the BSP supports Popov's government and the economic reform, and stressed that this support is not unconditional. The support depends on maximum measures in defense of the people's social security, which must be adopted by the government and the Grand National Assembly.

SDS Calls for Legislative Elections in May

AU0403202291 Sofia BTA in English 1921 GMT
4 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—The opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) still insists on new legislative elections being held in May, as provided by the political forces' agreement, it was said at the SDS regular briefing today.

The SDS Coordinating Council had instructed opposition M.P.'s to move that government works at weekends, at accelerated pace, as in emergency.

The SDS claims that government should draft the new Constitution and the laws on local and general elections by the end of March.

Today the SDS Coordinating Council discussed nominations for the new elections. At its meeting on Thursday the council will probably assign quotas to the parties and organizations within the coalition.

Podkrepa Union Leaders in Army Dismissed

AU0303162991 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 23 Feb 91 p 2

[Svetlomira Dimitrova report]

[Text] The first trade union organization of the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation in the Army is already a fact. Its founders were 26, and later 36, junior officers, warrant officers, and sergeants serving in Bansko. On the day of its formation—8 February—the founders also elected the organization's legitimate leadership. The secretary is Senior Sergeant Milo Monov, while the spokesman is Senior Lieutenant Iliyan Nedyalkov.

Evidently the commanding officers of the new "Podkrepa" members are unable to swallow this. Even before the organization had learned to walk, they began to put obstacles in its way. The first attempt was to decapitate it, an attempt that initially has been successful: Senior Sergeant Monov was dismissed from the service, and Senior Lieutenant Nedyalkov was removed from his post (and subsequently also dismissed, as Defense Minister Mutafchiev announced).

The question is whether the two orders were well-founded. In the case of Senior Sergeant Monov, the main grounds were given as "health reasons," in accordance with the grounds stated in Orders Nos. 9 and 126 issued by the Ministry of Defense and with the Law on Political Parties.

Is it likely that, in his desire to prove that his subordinates are in the wrong, their commander Major Ivanchev considers that anyone who becomes a member of "Podkrepa" is not well? The higher levels of command—from the commanders and deputy commanders for educational work (the former party-political cadres) to the higher officers in the Ministry of Defense—did assess the attitudes that led to the creation of "Podkrepa" in the Army as "unhealthy." My division commander General Angelov, stated Senior Lieutenant Nedyalkov, spent four hours on his "conversation" with me. Psychological pressure is being brought to bear on every one of us, but no one wanted to look into the reasons why we decided to join "Podkrepa," and no other organization.

The founders of the young organization consider that it has the same right to exist as the "G.S. Rakovski" Legion, namely to defend the trade union rights of its members. The organization contravenes neither the military statutes nor any other law, because the charges of failure to observe the principle of one-man command may only be formulated with reference to fulfillment of military duty. One-man command does not mean the violation of normal human rights, nor does it mean abuses of authority.

Dimitrov on 'Campaign' Against SDS Leaders

AU0103220091 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 Feb 91 p 2

[Boris Gergov report]

[Text] Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] stated that there can be no illusions that the Land Law adopted by the legislature is perfect. At the SDS news conference held in Sofia on 25 February, he stated that the approval of the law was a success for the democratic forces and the reform.

The SDS Coordinating Council confirmed the existence of an entire campaign in the media and the legislature against certain SDS leaders. The things written about Stoyan Ganev, Mikhail Nedelchev, Aleksandur Yordanov, and Milan Drenchev are not true, Filip Dimitrov declared.

Having refuted in this manner the reports in the mass media, Dimitrov recalled the viewpoint of the Coordinating Council that the attempt to nullify the election of Stoyan Ganev is an attempt to make use of one's majority to achieve an illegal decision.

The news conference did not end without the usual declaration being read. This time, the SDS greeted the Kuwaiti people on their national day.

Dimitrov regarded the election of Andrey Lukanov as deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] as a BSP problem.

It was announced that the SDS advocates a change in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in accordance with the correlation between the political forces in the country.

SDS Denounces Communist Symbols in Parade

AU0403211791 Sofia BTA in English 2012 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—In an official declaration today the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), the most influential legislative opposition coalition, protested against certain alarming facts in connection with yesterday's celebration of Bulgaria's national day, the 3rd of March. It says that the depoliticization in the Army and in the Ministry of the Interior is not yet completed, high-ranking officials are trying to revive the ideology of communism and the concept of the leading role of the ex-Communist Party.

The declaration cites examples. Red banners with hammer and sickle were waved at the official parade in front of the legislature building last night. Homage was paid to the first anti-fascist uprising of 1923, which has already been reconsidered by Bulgarian historians as inspired by the Comintern. Mr. Andrey Lukanov who is now just one of the leaders of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] was among the top officials who took the salute. Soldiers had to swear allegiance to the red banner, the symbol of communism, and not to the national flag.

The opposition insists on paying special attention to the depoliticization of the Army, on amending its manuals and regulations and reviewing its symbols.

Tomorrow the SDS-affiliated Democratic Party will move that the legislature issue a special declaration of protest against these facts, the party's leader Mr. Stefan Savov announced.

The opposition's declaration says that yesterday's celebration of the 3rd of March has shown the mixed feelings that Bulgarians have about this occasion. The 1878 Russo-Turkish war of liberation is now under objective review, so far a number of Bulgarian historians have used it to project an idealized image of Russia and its policy towards Bulgaria.

Rights, Freedoms Movement Demands Turkish Classes

AU0203201891 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] At an extraordinary municipal conference of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] held today in Kurdzhali, the participants approved a declaration addressed to the president of the Republic, the Grand National Assembly, and the Ministry of National Education.

The declaration expresses categorical disagreement with the decision of the Ministry of National Education on the experimental introduction of the teaching of Turkish in Bulgarian schools, and calls for the introduction of Turkish as a normal subject with assessments by examination. The declaration points out that this would not hinder the process of consolidation of the Bulgarian nation.

Meanwhile, in Khaskovo, ten school students started a hunger strike in the central square of the town, in support of the strike by the school students in Kurdzhali and Razgrad who are demanding a moratorium on the study of the Turkish language in Bulgarian schools.

New Foreign Currency Regulations Published

AU0403181891 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 27 Feb 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "No Need To Prove Source of Foreign Currency"]

[Text] As of today, merchant banks will not demand evidence of the foreign currency's source. Citizens who sell their foreign currency to the banks, or open their own foreign currency accounts, will not be taxed. This was announced by Bulgarian National Bank Chairman Todor Vulchev.

According to financial experts, this measure will release several hundred million U.S. dollars, presently held by the population.

Measures To Implement Land Law Detailed

AU0103215991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 Feb 91 p 1

[Petko Stamov report]

[Text] Within two weeks, a code of regulations will be prepared for applying the Law on Ownership and Use of Agricultural Land. At the news conference held on 25 February at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, Minister Boris Spirov also stated that he expects that the first private farmers will appear in Bulgaria in July, after the harvest.

At present the ministry is quickly preparing draft laws and procedures for fixing land rents, for privatizing the main land stocks, and so on. The nominal value of land will also be determined, under different categories, while the land's market value will be established later, at a level above the nominal value. At the same time, a number of articles and paragraphs will be proposed to the Grand National Assembly as additions and amendments to Decree 922, and articles of other laws that obstruct the economic reform will be repealed. The draft law on the land register has been submitted to the legislature and now awaits its turn.

Notwithstanding this creative legislative work, spring will not wait, and the main thing now is to sow the spring crops in good time in the conditions of the existing economic structures. Recommendations have been issued for increasing the plots of individual private farms to 10 decares in areas of intensive cultivation, to 15 decares in cereal farming regions, and to 20 decares in hill regions. The farms that own agricultural equipment, as well as the new companies formed on the basis of the former motor tractor stations, will be obliged to use their equipment to the full and to provide services in a timely way to all categories of citizens engaged in farming. It is hoped that the removal of monopolies and the new forms will prevent problems connected with the purchasing of farm output.

The most complex situation exists with the provision of fertilizers, plant protection agents, and some kinds of seeds. The government's possibilities for allocating foreign currency are exhausted, and therefore the producer companies are now seeking ways to obtain bank credits. Another possible method is to purchase foreign currency by mortgaging part of the basic farm stocks (animals, buildings, and so on).

Minister Spirov spoke about the changes in the structure of the people's councils and the ministry, which must manage agriculture in a new way with a reduced staff establishment. In answer to some of the questions, he stated that the ministry will no longer rescue those who have failed to appreciate the logic of the economic reform in Bulgaria.

Government Accepts EC Loan, Discusses Energy

AU0403173091 Prague CTK in English 1715 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 1 (CTK)— The federal government agreed at its today's session with the conclusion of a Czechoslovak-European Communities agreement under which the EC are to grant the country a loan worth 375 million ECU.

The loan is to help Czechoslovakia overcome the period of transition to internal convertibility of the koruna.

The government again dealt with the Finance Ministry proposal for raising prices on fuels and energy (it discussed it already on February 25). The Slovak side proposed that the solution of the whole problem should be postponed until March 15 which the federal government accepted. However, the government already today approved principles of state participation (subsidies) in cutting fuels and energy consumption in apartment houses. The main aim is to radically reduce the consumption of thermal energy.

The government also approved a proposal on settling the unfavorable situation in the Czechoslovak state transport. The organization had payment difficulties throughout the whole past year which ended in a deficit of 1,750 million korunas.

At a news conference held after today's federal government session Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus referred to the fuels and energy price rise proposal and said that the federal government must "wait for the final stand of the two republics and the final verdict will be announced in two weeks".

In this connection he mentioned he was receiving letters from the International Monetary Fund as Czechoslovakia agreed with it to cut subsidies on fuel and energy as of January 1, 1991.

He added that the stand of the federal government is clear but must be harmonized with the republican ones.

Klaus highly appreciated the EC loan underlining the fact that Czechoslovakia expects to be able to start using the credit from the end of March or beginning of April.

Czechoslovak Federal Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy told the news conference the government appropriated 500 million crowns [korunas] from the state budget to structural changes aimed at cutting the consumption of fuels and energy in 1991.

This sum is to serve the purchase and installation of regulation and measuring apparatuses, insulation materials and establishment of information and consultative services.

Daily on Delays in Warsaw Pact Abolition

AU0103151991 Prague CTK in English 1514 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Bratislava Feb 28 (CTK)—None of the participants in the Budapest meeting on the Warsaw Pact dissolution February 25 has named the country delaying the definitive termination of the pact, says the Slovak independent daily NARODNA OBRODA in its commentary today.

It quotes Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubisziewski as having said that the absence of the Soviet delegation from the press conference after signing of the document on the Warsaw Pact military wing's dissolution could be a key to the secret.

The paper notes that Poland is the only Warsaw Pact member which has not an agreement on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed on its territory.

According to reliable diplomatic sources, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and Defense Minister Lubomir Dobrovsky met one day before the meeting members of the Soviet delegation to discuss whether the causes of the foundation and functioning of the Warsaw Pact should be assessed or not and to evaluate the extent of the damage caused to Czechoslovakia by the Soviet troops' stay on its territory since 1968. The two parties did not come to an agreement on either issue. The Czechoslovak estimate of the damage is 2.5-fold higher than the Soviet, the paper say.

As regards the Pact's existence, the Czechoslovak stand is pragmatic: let history asses it. This contrasts with the stand of the USSR which wants to qualify the birth of the Warsaw Pact as response to the threat faced by Eastern and Central European states from the West, NARODNA OBRODA adds.

Talks on New Treaty With Germany Held in Prague

AU0403182491 Prague CTK in English 2232 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 28 (CTK)— Czechoslovakia and Germany will exchange the final drafts of their treaty of good neighborhood by the end of March, Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Matejka told CTK here today after the first round of talks.

Then they will fix the date for the second round of the talks to be held in Bonn. Matejka said that both sides wish to finish and sign the new treaty by the middle of 1991.

He said that both countries agreed on the structure of the treaty. "The new bilateral Czechoslovak-German treaty will be overall and not go to the past," Matejka said. As to the future, there is no difference of views but there are some questions of the past to be discussed yet, Matejka said.

Accord Signed With USSR on Damages to Town

LD0403152591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Premsyl Sramek report]

[Text] The [Soviet] soldiers and their military equipment left this East Bohemian town at the beginning of February. Arguments about the damages, however, are the reason why it was possible only now to make their departure definite. The final account on the uninvited guest contains 3.7 million korunas [Kcs] worth of damages to 73 apartments, as estimated by the local council. The Soviets, on the other hand, estimate it only to be Kcs800,000. Further damage has to be added to the bill for the barracks buildings. The buildings have broken windows, kicked out doors, and torn out electrical installations. The damage was done mostly in the last few weeks during which the Soviet soldiers caused more damage than in all previous years in Czechoslovakia. The protocol on the situation has two parts: one on what the Soviet Army admits, and the other on the Czechoslovak claim.

Toman, Sacher on Purpose, Reliability of Screening

AU0403161491

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 26 February on page 3, under the headline "Can One Bet on the Vetting?" publishes a 2,700-word interview with Petr Toman, spokesman of the legislative Commission Investigating Events of 17 November, and Richard Sacher, Federal Assembly member and former minister of the interior, by Nada Adfamickova on the current topic of discussion in the Federal Assembly; namely, the screening. The place and date of the interview is not given. Toman states that the purpose of screening in the Federal Assembly is to ensure that persons who are compromised by collaboration with the State Security (StB) will not be in the legislature, government, or any other public office. In the interview, Toman responds to the criticism from Slovakia regarding the transfer of the State Security file register from Kosice to Prague. "The registers are the property of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, and not of the republic one." There is no need to be concerned about the reliability of the screening, Toman asserts further, "Should anyone cast doubts on the dependability of the screening, he is either not sufficiently informed, or misinformed, or he has some other reasons for doing so." The interviewer rejoins with an observation that one could hardly doubt that Meciar or Sacher is sufficiently well-informed. Toman responds: "I answered you already."

Sacher is convinced that the registers should not be used as fail-safe means of screening because "the record in the register does not say anything about the person or about the extent of the collaboration. Our point of departure must be a presumed innocence." Moreover, according to Sacher, the entries in the register could have been falsified and supplemented. He believes that "the present regime should try to reach an agreement with all the involved people and then draw a thick line to separate the past from the present."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 26 February on page 1, under the headline "They Will Not Pass," provides additional information as it publishes a "khv"-signed 200-word statement by Federal Assembly Deputy Michal Maly, who said on television on Friday (22 February) that "the number of deputies not passing the screening is neither smaller than 10, nor greater than 25, which is less than was generally expected."

Langos on Interior Ministry Attitude on Screenings

AU0503104391 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 2 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Jan Langos by Andrej Javorsky; place and date not given: "The Deputies Must Decide"; first paragraph is VEREJNOST introduction]

[Text] A priority for the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement is its active approach toward all the issues under discussion in our social, political, and economic life. As far as the Interior Ministry is concerned, this is one of the most closely scrutinized ministries—whether at the republican or federal level—and is of interest to both politicians and the general public. A large number of reservations—first and foremost, in connection with the activity of the former State Security [StB] and screenings—are being directed from the bottom, that is, from the general public, toward this vitally important department. We spoke with Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos, one of the VPN representatives in the federal government, about several topical issues.

[Javorsky] Mr. Minister, how would you briefly characterize the situation within your ministry, a ministry that is—in view of the passionate disputes surrounding the screenings—in a delicate position? People react very sensitively to screenings and expect all sorts of explanations from you.

[Langos] I must set things straight right at the beginning. The screenings hardly concern the Federal Interior Ministry directly. Our ministry has changed the orientation of its activity and its method of work. One of the most recent changes is the very fact that the Interior Ministry—to put it in plain language—no longer categorizes society and no longer spies on citizens. The screenings are a special kind of categorizing. Citizens want them or they do not want them. Whether this method of categorization—or clean up—will be implemented should be decided upon by the people's elected representatives and not by the Federal Interior Ministry. Our ministry plays a passive role in this issue; it has, in fact, inherited the StB burden. The federal ministry has to play a neutral role in cleaning up public life, that is, in the screenings or what are called screenings. It has to prevent information acquired from the StB from being abused. Only the

national legislatures and the Federal Assembly can make legitimate and legal decisions about this heritage.

[Javorsky] In this connection, you are being criticized for the alleged information leaks from the Federal Interior Ministry. Such information may be abused for political purposes. What is your opinion of this?

[Langos] This criticism is being made in Slovakia. The materials we inherited from the StB in the Slovak Republic had always been deposited in former StB regional administrations—in the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy premises. Employees in these offices had access to them; virtually anyone who had some right to come into contact with them or who had influence over these employees had access to them. Therefore, it was difficult to prevent a possible information leak. These materials could only be protected by taking one step. That step was to concentrate these materials in one place, in one place that is inaccessible to any political interests.

[Javorsky] Since concentrating these materials in one place, you have prevented information from being abused. Have I understood this properly?

[Langos] Information that had leaked previously or reports on citizens that had got into unauthorized hands—there had been a possibility of this happening—could today be used to political and morally blackmail someone. Anyone who abuses the above-mentioned information this way can be accused of blackmail if there is evidence to do so. Since last December when deputies in the parliamentary commission concentrated all the registration protocols in Prague and placed them under the authority of the director of the Federal Information Service, further information leaks have been made impossible. The above-mentioned registration protocols are not evidence of cooperation with the StB, but are sufficiently useful for blackmailing purposes. I am convinced that by concentrating them in one place I have prevented the further dissemination of information that more and more people could abuse for the purposes of political blackmail.

Sacher Questions Qualifications of Ministry Staff

AU0503111591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 1 Mar 91 p 3

[Report on statement by Richard Sacher, deputy for the Christian Democratic Union/Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU/CSL], at the meeting of Federal Assembly chambers in Prague on 27 February; in the "They Said in the Federal Assembly" column]

[Text] "We are being shadowed by the same people as under the previous regime. As a legislative deputy, I do not accept the explanation that these persons have been set apart from the Federal Information Service and work in a different subdivision." He recalled that eight months ago [when Sacher himself was federal interior minister] these people were on reserve duty, totally excluded from active service, on the understanding that those who pass screenings would be able to work in the Public Security Corps at the most. The situation in the intelligence or counterintelligence services is no different. He stressed that, to be qualified, a Ministry of Interior employee should not be required to be a Charter 77 member, to play the guitar, and to show endurance in beer drinking, but that he should have complete university education in law, be highly disciplined, and show the requisite state of health. A staffer or functionary of the Ministry of Interior should be required not to be dependent on drugs or alcohol and not to have been punished for criminal acts and acts of violence. He asked Minister Langos to submit to the Federal Assembly the profile of his deputies from the viewpoint of these minimum qualifications and criteria.

Langos Proposes Proceedings Against Predecessor

AU0503111891 Prague CTK in English 2223 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jan Langos is proposing disciplinary proceedings against his predecessor in the office, Richard Sacher, over his criticism of the situation at the ministry voiced in parliament yesterday, Spokesman Martin Fendrych informed CTK today.

The spokesman said that Sacher's report could destabilize the situation in Czechoslovakia.

In an interpellation in the Federal Assembly Sacher urged the government to prevent what he described as outflow of assets by the intended establishment of a joint-stock company by the Interior Ministry's Technical Board with partners from abroad. He specifically mentioned Deputy Minister Arnost Kohut and two Czechoslovak emigrants, Mr Palas and Viktor Kozeny, as involved in this plan.

Sacher said that the value of the technical service is some 2,500 million crowns [korunas]. He was surprised that this section employing top experts and unique technical inventions unpatented just to maintain their secrecy has recently become a destination for many visits by foreigners.

Sacher also maintained that some 700 former secret police StB [State Security] staff still work at the ministry. Fendrych said that Sacher "subjectively cast doubts on the running of the Federal Interior Ministry." Sacher questioned the professional and moral qualifications of the minister's deputies.

Langos is proposing to the parliamentary Mandates Committee to start disciplinary procedures against Sacher. Langos regards the attacks as personal insult and also wants the committee to decide whether the statements cannot be qualified as the criminal act of spreading alarming news.

He is also asking the Federal Assembly Presidium to set up a commission which would check whether the accusations are justified or not.

Havel on Constitution, Slovakia, National Disputes

AU0503103691 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Mar 91 p 13

["Excerpt" from an interview with President Vaclav Havel by an unidentified reporter carried in RESPEKT No. 9; place and date not given: "Domestic Policy Is Interlinked With International Policy"]

[Text] [RESPEKT] Czechoslovakia's social and political life has been completely paralyzed for a long time by national disputes. Therefore, it seems from time to time that the only logical outcome of our crisis will be the state's disintegration. Is this a real possibility, or does it only seem this way?

[Havel] Of course this possibility exists, but I do not think our state will disintegrate. I think the talks about the new constitutions will be a decisive occasion in which the problem in relations between Czechs and Slovaks will manifest itself. Therefore, the drafting of a new federal constitution should take place as quickly as possible. I am very much involved in this issue; I have clear and very specific views on our future constitution.

[RESPEKT] Apparently, the draft federal constitution has been prepared. If this is true, it should be discussed publicly. Or is this impossible for some reason or another?

[Havel] As we know, the Federal Assembly will adopt the federal constitution. For the constitution to be adopted, it has to be prepared. A team of experts prepared constitutional principles for a legislative political commission, but the political parties came up with different principles. The legislature, which takes it own course of action, is the legal creator of the constitution. I come into this from the outside, and I cannot force a working plan on the legislature. I can merely attempt to initiate and accelerate this process, I can make suggestions and provide inspiration—for instance in the form of the initialed version of the constitution—and I want to do all of this. However, I cannot and I do not want to deprive the Federal Assembly of its legitimate right, which is to give this country a constitution.

[RESPEKT] Prime Minister Meciar recently demanded early elections (which is not true—NARODNA OBRODA editorial note). Apparently, our political scene has collapsed along with the Civic Forum, and it is no longer clear to him from whom, in fact, Czech and federal representatives have their mandate. What is your opinion on this problem?

[Havel] Mr. Meciar is an energetic and decisive politician who wants to have an energetic and decisive partner. The Civic Forum in its current form—with the Liberal Club on one side and V. Klaus on the other—seems to him to be like a partner with many shapes and forms. It seems a little ambiguous. He would like to have a Czech Meciar. He would then feel he could reach agreements with this partner more quickly than when he has several partners with differing points of view. This is, I think, absolutely logical and understandable.

[RESPEKT] In December you made an important speech in the Federal Assembly on our constitutional and legal future. The speech was received relatively well in the Czech Lands, while in Slovakia reaction was extremely negative. Have you thought about the reasons for such a divided response?

[Havel] The unfavorable reaction stemmed from one fundamental idea. That is, that my speech was not balanced because in it—as opposed to my previous speeches—I did not criticize Czechs and Slovaks equally, I was more critical of Slovaks. Let me make a few comments on this. I did not criticize anyone. I merely mentioned the fact that voices have been raised in Slovakia calling for the sovereignty of Slovak laws over federal laws. I outlined in a matter-of-fact manner the consequences this act would have for citizens throughout the state. If such voices had been raised in the Czech Lands, I would have said that they had been raised in the Czech Lands. I do not have any double standards. However, it seems as if this extremely oversensitive Slovak reaction was intended to indicate to me that one has to tread very carefully with Slovaks. In my opinion, this is a fundamental error made by many Slovak journalists and by some political representatives—they are demanding double standards. They are demanding special treatment. They are demanding that the Slovak nation be dealt with differently—more sensitively, more delicately, and more carefully—than other nations. However, the Slovak nation will never become a legitimate element of a democratic Europe with such ideas. I view the Slovak nation as a full-fledged and mature nation, and I act toward it accordingly.

[RESPEKT] It is hard to imagine that NATO would want a nationally ramifying and economically stumbling state whose triplicate political representative bodies have been incapable for almost a year of agreeing upon elementary principles for social coexistence.

[Havel] What you are saying does not only concern NATO, it also concerns the EC, the IMF, the World Bank, and—in fact—all the supranational structures. This even concerned the Council of Europe, the organization most accessible to us. The majority of issues for discussion there centered around precisely these problems. Incidentally, they are of interest to every entrepreneur. No one will invest here if he does not have a feeling of political stability. In this sense, domestic policy is linked with international policy. Local politicians are often very insufficiently aware of this.

I have already been in such a situation several times, and I always say: You will not be like Benes. If the legislature expresses a lack of confidence in a minister, if I am convinced that mere political disfavor and political ambition are concealed behind this, if I am convinced that this minister is doing his job well, if I am convinced that he is defending the government's view—for which he cannot be individually responsible—if I know all of this, then I would rather submit my own resignation than have to put my signature to his resignation.

Right-Wing Parties on Reform Implementation

AU0403183791 Prague CTK in English 1728 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 28 (CTK)— The Christian-Democratic orientated Czechoslovak People's Party (CSL) and the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs gave here today a press conference at which they pronounced some critical comments on the implementation of the economic reform and its philosophy.

According to Rudolf Baranek, representative of the Entrepreneurs' Association (about 250,000 members), the so-called small privatization, i.e. return of shops, services, and small businesses to private hands, is being carried out in a dilettantish way, slowing the creation of the private sector. Another representative of the association said the establishment of the private sector is being hampered by government officials who fear they would thus lose their jobs because there would be nothing to manage.

Chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party Josef Lux said decisionmaking on the future character of Czechoslovak society is impeded mainly by the fact that communists and ex-communists still account for 60 to 70 per cent of the staff at some ministries. Lux proceeds in his assessment of the reform from theses authored by the CSL body of foreign consultants, according to which privatization, demonopolization, phased liberalization of prices and wages, and restitutions are the absolutely necessary preconditions of the establishment of market economy. According to the theses, the central command in Czechoslovakia has not been eased, demonopolization of the economy has not been started, protection of home and foreign entrepreneurs' ownership rights is not properly ensured, liberalization of prices has been launched without prior privatization and demonopolization of state enterprises. The theses reject division of privatization into "small" and "big" (concerning industrial enterprises).

Lux warned tension exists in Czechoslovak society, adding especially social tension will further mount.

Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) Vaclav Benda said the Christian Democratic Union, built on alliance of CSL and KDS, could become an axis of the Czechoslovak right. It maintains relations with the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) in Slovakia even though their views on some questions, e.g. state arrangement of Czechoslovakia, differ. The CSL and KDU coalition have 19 out of the 200 seats on the Czech parliament and 15 in the 300-seat federal parliament. (They won the seats in the June 1990 elections together with KDH).

Fighter Planes Return To Mosnov Despite Protests

AU0403184291 Prague CTK in English 1924 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 1 (CTK)— The Czechoslovak Defense Ministry today issued a statement saying the arrival of 15 MIG 21 and L 29 warplanes in Ostrava-Mosnov, North Moravia, yesterday was announced to the town's representatives well in advance.

The planes were ordered to Mosnov by the Council of State Defense which took a decision on the deployment of warplanes in the territories of the Czech and Slovak Republics, the ministry said.

The presence of the warplanes at Mosnov had met with strong opposition of the local population who had staged protest demonstrations.

A new protest is planned at Mosnov on Sunday, February 3. The ministry said the Air Force commander and his aides are ready to come to Mosnov to answer all questions concerning operation at Czechoslovakia's military airports.

New Charter 77 Spokespersons Appointed

AU0503100691 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 1 Mar 91 p 2

[Text] Sociologist Alena Hromadkova, psychotherapist and publicist Helena Klimova, and writer Hana Ponicka have assumed the role of Charter 77 spokespersons for the forthcoming 12 months.

Decision on Moravia by End of April, Pithart Says

AU0403183191 Prague CTK in English 2005 GMT 28 Feb 91

[Text] Brno, Moravia, Feb 28 (CTK)— Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart said here today that the decision on whether Moravian calls for greater autonomy will lead to a changed state structure, and what its kind will be, will be made at the end of April.

The prime minister and other members of the Czech Government met with officials of the municipal representation, political leaders, and managers in the Moravian regional capital of Brno.

Moravia and its northern region of Silesia, which form the central part of Czechoslovakia, have been demanding the restoration of autonomy which Moravia enjoyed until its status was abolished by the communist

government in 1949. These calls, and the drafting of new state and regional constitutions, have made it necessary to study the possible devolution arrangements.

Four possible versions have been proposed, from several dozen district governments up to the division of the Czech Republic into two autonomous regions. The Government of the Czech Republic, of which Moravia is a part, insists that devolution must not lead to loosening of the present federal system in the whole of Czechoslovakia into confederation.

Moravian deputies walked out of the Czech parliament earlier this month in the middle of these discussions but returned there yesterday. "Arguments should come from Moravia and not ultimatums," Pithart told Brno representatives today.

Czech Finance Minister Karel Spacek admitted at the meeting that Brno has not been well supplied with money from the central authorities and therefore it will now receive an additional 400 million crowns [korunas] from the Czech Government. Czech Economic Development Minister Karel Dyba proposed the establishment of a regional Moravian body in Brno or Olomouc on budgetary issues.

Pithart said in conclusion that foreign investors were not concerned about the issues of Czechs, Moravians, or Slovaks but over the methods and non-political ways of solving them. Financial issues are solved by civilized political methods in all countries and the Moravian issue will be reopened whenever necessary, he said.

Moravian Deputies Return to Czech Legislature

AU0503094391 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 28 Feb 91 p 2

["st"-signed report: "Waiting for an Apology"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday's 15th meeting of the Czech National Council opened in the presence of the Czech Republic Government but without the participation of deputies for the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia [HSD-SMS], who thereby protested against the course of action by the Civic Forum Club of Deputies during the discussion of problems of the constitutional arrangement of the state at the last Czech National Council meeting. [passage omitted]

Deputies for the HSD-SMS terminated their passive resistance in the afternoon when Prime Minister P. Pithart spoke about the constitutional, territorial, and administrative arrangement of the state. He stressed that the government will delegate two ministers to the joint Czech National Council and Czech Republic Government working commission set up to examine this issue. The commission is open to deputies' new ideas and initiatives, that is, including those from representatives of all clubs of deputies from Moravia and Silesia. Prime Minister Pithart respects the Czech National Council's will to deal with four alternatives [for the arrangement of the Czech Republic] and himself regards the self-administrative land arrangement [zemske zrizeni] as a way to build a civic society. [passage omitted]

The Czech Republic Government regards also the union-type arrangement [spolkove usporadani] as a feasible solution. Its final shape cannot, however, be determined by the Czech National Council, because it would concern the CSFR as a whole. In the present political situation, in which there exist visible tendencies toward a confederative arrangement, the choice of the union-type arrangement might free the way for precisely such tendencies. In other words, were the union-type arrangement to lead to a confederation, we would have to reject it. The Czech government is a sincere supporter of the federation. [passage omitted]

The Czech National Council meeting continues today.

CNR Sets Up Foreign Affairs Committee

AU0503094691 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Mar 91 p 2

["st"-signed report: "Investigating Commission Also in the Czech National Council"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] At its 15th meeting, which continued yesterday, the Czech National Council [CNR] decided to abolish the National Prize of the Czech Socialist Republic, which has been awarded since 1975 for scientific, technical, cultural, and artistic achievements. The abolition of the prize will save 500,000 korunas annually.

The Czech National Council also abolished the Jan Sverma Journalism Prize as something that has been rendered obsolete by the development of society. [passage omitted]

A livelier discussion evolved around the amendment to the Czech National Council rules of procedure permitting the establishment of an investigating commission for clarifying "important matters of public interest." The commission should have the power to hear witnesses and experts and to impose sanctions in case of perjury. [passage omitted] Its opponents raised the question of what important matters of public interest in the present destabilized society are, and they warned against the danger of the investigations being misused in the style of inquisition trials. [passage omitted] The plenum finally approved the establishment of the commission by adopting the respective legislation. Hearings of the commission will not have the character of criminal proceedings and political parties and movements will be represented in it according to the principle of proportional representation.

The Czech National Council established, furthermore, its own Foreign Affairs Committee. Deputy K. Stindl

(Liberal Democratic Party) became its chairman. It also recalled several professional judges from their posts and elected 15 new ones. Courts in the Czech Republic are still short of over 200 judges, however. By passing the law on seats and circuits of district and regional courts, the Czech National Council confirmed their identity with the administrative seats of districts and regions.

Deputies for the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia were present in their benches throughout yesterday's session. It thus seems that the Czech legislative crisis has been averted. [passage omitted]

Civic Movement, ODS Holds News Conference

AU0403173191 Prague CTK in English 1626 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus told journalists here today the political party which will be created from one of the two parts of the Civic Forum (OF) into which it split last Saturday will hold its constituent congress in the first half of April.

Called for the time being the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), it will apply mainly realism and pragmatism in its activity, Klaus, former OF chairman and chief initiator of the movement's transformation into a party, said.

"We have a historical chance to create in Czechoslovakia a strong non-leftist political party which can fill in the vacancy on our political scene," Klaus said. He described the split of the forum (into the party and a movement called for the time being the Civic Movement) as a prerequisite for building a normal political structure in Czechoslovakia.

The new party wants to return to the people the hope that their notions of Czechoslovakia's transformation (after the fall of the totalitarian regime in November 1989) will be realized and that Czechoslovakia will not seek conservation of socialism, Klaus said.

According to him, the new party will support unity of the Czechoslovak State (preservation of a common state of the Czechs and Slovaks) and therefore will not be closed to Slovaks interested in joining it. This, however, should not be comprehended as the start of recruitment to the party in Slovakia, Klaus added.

Deputies to Czech parliament Andrej Gjuric and Petr Cermak said an overwhelming majority of the members of the interparlimanetary club of the democratic right will enter the new party. The club was set up by rightist-oriented OF [Civic Forum] deputies to Czechoslovak parliament last October.

Speaking about relations between the party and the Civic Movement, Klaus said agreement had been reached to maintain coalition within the original Civic Forum until the parliamentary elections due in spring 1992. But he ruled out the possibility of his party running its candidates on a common list with the Civic Movement. This does not mean they could form a post-election coalition for a new government, Klaus added.

The party and the movement hold practically identical views on the state setup in Czechoslovakia, Klaus said. The question is now being widely discussed in Czechoslovakia which now has the form of a dual federation consisting of the Czech and Slovak Republics. But Moravia and Silesia, the eastern parts of the Czech Republic, are now seeking restoration of the regional setup which was abolished in Czechoslovakia after the communists came to power in February 1948.

Czechoslovak deputy prime minister and member of the preparatory committee of the Civic Movement (OH), one of the two parts into which the Civic Forum split last Saturday, told journalists here today OH wants to be liberal and social-oriented.

The constituent congress of the Civic Movement will be held probably in April.

According to Rychetsky, the movement has five major goals: not to allow people to be afraid of the future and seek solution in return to former conditions, to offer every citizen the chance to take part in public affairs, to push through transition to market economy while social and ecological aspects will be respected, to develop togetherness of the Czech and Slovak nations on the principles of a federation of two equal subjects, and to respect the humane, democratic, cultural and Christian traditions of Czechoslovakia.

According to Rychetsky, the Civic Movement will not be organized federally because it views the Public Against Violence (VPN), the sister movement of the Civic Forum in Slovakia, as its natural partner with which it wants to set up a federal political bloc. OH and VPN representatives met yesterday.

Rychetsky said the Civic Movement is open to both individual and collective members.

Characterizing differences between the two parts of the Civic Forum, Rychetsky said both of them want to remove all vestiges of the past (communist) regime. But OH disagrees with the view of the Civic Democratic Party that it depends on each citizen how he is capable of taking care of himself. He said the implementation of the decision to change the concept of the Czechoslovak industry will cause many people losing their jobs not by their fault. According to Rychetsky, Czechoslovak society has much in common in this period of transition with that in Germany before the arrival of fascism. There is a threat of extremes both leftist and rightist, he warned and added one of the goals of OH is to press on the government to come with alternative production programs to substitute for those which will be discontinued.

Slovak Prime Minister Cancels TV Address

LD0403160891 Bratislava Slovak 1 Television Network in Slovak 1810 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Address by Slovak International Relations Minister Milan Knazko from television studio—live]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens: At this moment you should be listening to the address by Slovak Government Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. I witnessed one event that I will describe to you and explain why you will not see him today on your television screens.

At 1630 today Prime Minister Meciar came to Slovak television to record his regular Sunday talk. I accompanied him. Outside the building he was welcomed by his press secretary, the director of Slovak television, the editor in chief of "Television News", and other television employees. Before entering the building, the prime minister asked the television director whether it was true that on Friday he had been told at a Public Against Violence [VPN] Coordinating Center session to be present at the recording of the prime minister's talk and to give this recording immediately to the VPN Coordinating Center. The director admitted that he had been asked to do this. When the Slovak prime minister asked him what his view was, he answered that he considered this to be immoral and unethical, but that despite this he had promised the Coordinating Center to do what was asked. Under such circumstances, the prime minister announced that he could not speak on television if his address was to be censored. The prime minister made it clear to director Zeman that his behavior was at variance with ethics, democratic policy, and the tasks and position of a television director.

Dear friends, let us try to think about who is beginning to play the role of a censor of the new era. Who is talking today about the accumulation of power, about a so-called firm hand, and the so-called integrity of a movement? Who stands in the position of the former Central Committee of the party and assumes the right to make decisions while having no constitutional or political responsibility? Who presents ministers of the Slovak Government only as some sort of clerks of the state administration?

After the all-Slovak assembly, many VPN functionaries have been claiming that there exists a certain differentiation of views; however, the movement's integrity has been preserved. I would like to stress that the differentiation of views has been taking place for many months, and one cannot at all speak about an integrated and unanimous VPN movement. These terms remind me of the notorious party discipline from the period of the previous regime's government.

The fundamental dispute in the VPN movement dwells in the attitude toward the sovereign Slovak policy. Prime Minister Meciar supports sovereign Slovak policy and considers this path to be the the only possible way to become a partner in running the Czech Republic and the federal government. The VPN Coordinating Center and its supporters only implement concepts of some federal political representatives.

When I say federal I am aware that it is just a cover name for something that, even after cosmetic power adjustment, remains a bureaucratic, centralist legacy of the past 20 years. The concept of an independent Slovak policy, respecting the specific conditions of Slovakia, is demagogically described by the followers of this VPN trend as nationalist populism.

Today's sad experience of the existence of censorship that a kind of politburo takes upon itself in its relation to the prime minister of the Slovak Government forced me publicly to distance myself from such behavior.

Esteemed fellow citizens, our political development is at a crossroads. We are faced with the adoption of the constitution of the Slovak Republic and with the need for the fundamental solution of social and economic problems that has been postponed for decades. For more than a year a tough fight has been taking place over the nature of Slovak political life, whether it will consistently deal with the problems of the Slovak Republic and defend its interests or whether it will be, just as it has been so many times before in history, only a reflection of foreign interests.

I think I will not be giving away any secrets if I say openly that influential forces exist that are attempting to make VPN and the government of the Slovak Republic into a tool for their interests. So the fight is also about whether VPN will simply be a branch of another political force or whether it will remain what it was at the time of revolutionary platforms. Unfortunately, a situation has been created in the center of our movement in which personalities that stand behind the sovereign character of VPN are gradually removed and a kind of politburo has been formed in the center of VPN, made up of people who do not have constitional responsibility or the mandate of the voters of Slovakia.

Perhaps you are now thinking that I am speaking of problems that we should solve ourselves within VPN. You are right. It is a fact, however, that some time ago a campaign began, the aim of which was to blacken the character of the Slovak prime minister. This campaign does not only have an effect on members of VPN but on the whole of the public. He is libelled in the Prague press almost every day. The most actived of these publications are unfortunately those that are close to the castle and Civic Forum.

Vague but constant accusations and attempts to influence public opinion have started now in Slovakia as well. Prime Minister Meciar is more and more often described as too strong; people talk about certain tendencies to accumulate power, about his allegedly uncoordinated policy, and so on. These accusations are being repeated according to the principle that a lie repeated often enough becomes truth. These arguments have been used, for instance, in the recent statement of representatives of

university students. The intention is that in this way the public will be gradually prepared for a recall of Vladimir Meciar from the post of prime minister. Here we have to say openly that the Coordinating Center has already made one attempt to remove Vladimir Meciar. Not many people knew at that time that Slovakia was without a prime minister for 48 hours. I can think of no justifiable reason why Slovakia should oust Prime Minister Meciar from his post and thank him in this way for the results he has achieved so far.

I would like, here and now, to say that we have had enough of such manipulations. None of us has been struggling during those hard 15 months since the revolution just to become puppets in the hands of some behind-the-scene powers. Thank you for your attention.

Meciar on Slovak Political Disputes

LD0403180691 Prague CTK in English 1652 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 4 (CTK)—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said here today he will tell the public truth about conflicts in the VPN [Public Against Violence] as the other side is so eager to grasp power that it verges on the threat to form structures characteristic of the recently destroyed political systems.

In an interview with CTK Meciar reacted to yesterday's TV address by Slovak Minister for International Relations Milan Knazko and to accusations launched by certain leading representatives of the Public against Violence (VPN) movement.

He stressed that comments made Knazko were not meant to split society but that facts stated in the address must be either confirmed or refuted and that concrete conclusions must be drawn.

He further repeated what Knazko said yesterday, i.e. that Slovak TV Director Peter Zeman confirmed he had been asked by the VPN Slovak Council Chairman Fedor Gal to control his regular TV address. "I am the prime minister and I would never dare control anyone as to how he speaks and I do not ask anyone to ask what he may say. It is infringing of the freedom of speech," he said.

Referring to Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kucerak's accusations concerning the manipulation of documents of the former state secret police (StB), Vladimir Meciar said that he was Slovak interior minister in the government of national understanding but has never been in the StB archives and had never had access to any such documents.

Speaking about his resignation of last October, Meciar said he had been forced to it and the VPN accepted and approved of it yet before he handed it in. The VPN changed its mind only after Slovak ministers said they would resign as well.

The prime minister further refuted accusations that he has been accumulating personal power and stated he has no power ambitions. He admitted he knows about steps aimed at his removal from office. "I know about them and do not make a tragedy of it", he said. At the same time he pointed to attempts to separate him from some members of his government and added these attempts failed and the government goes on working.

At the conclusion Meciar stressed he had remained silent on many conflicts in the VPN in the interest of the movement's unity but now he wants to tell the truth publicly.

Slovak Parties View Political 'Disarray'

LD0403190591 Prague CTK in English 1830 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 4 (CTK)—The Slovak National Party (SNS) does not consider the timing of the dispute a coincidence. It came just on the eve of submitting the Slovak draft constitutions to the Czechoslovak president, the party says in its statement on yesterday's TV address by Slovak External Relations Minister Milan Knazko.

In this context, the party asks whether the whole affair is not to divert attention of the Slovaks from embodying their sovereignty in a future Slovak constitution.

The Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) expresses regret that one of the government's coalition partners gets into disarray harming the cause of Slovakia just in crucial moments when new constitutional laws are being prepared and a complicated economic situation affects the population.

The Democratic Party (DS), a member of the government coalition, says in its statement that the conflict within the VPN [Public Against Violence] may erode the implementation of the Slovak Government's programme. It says that almost all political parties entered the election campaign with programmes for a strong Slovakia. The latest developments weaken this principle and thus encourage the Prague centralism.

The Democratic Left Party (SDL), former Communist Party, now the fourth strongest in parliament, says it is a crisis of the government policy and relations of coalition parties to the government itself. The SDL has been pointing out for a long time contrast between the government's election pledges and its actual deeds. "We are for a constitutional solution to the crisis", the SDL underlines.

Meciar Comments on TV Speech Cancellation

LD0403195191 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Zozana Stukovska in Bratislava on 4 March—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Meciar] [passage omitted] As far as the political dispute that has appeared here is concerned, it can be solved, and it can be overcome, but the other side must also show goodwill. I witnessed a dialogue, or rather I had a dialogue with Mr. Zeman [director of Slovak television]. Mr. Zeman told me everything that Mr. Knazko said in his TV address. Mr. Knazko did not say everything, though. He concealed one thing, and that is that director Zeman said to me that it was Mr. Gal [chairman of Public Against Violence—VPN] who asked him to check my speech, take the recording and give it to the VPN Coordinating Center for assessment. Mr. Knazko did not mention that in his TV address yesterday.

Even as prime minister, I do not dare to check anybody's speeches, nor demand that they ask me what they can or cannot say. This is violating freedom of speech. I think that such things should not happen and that they do not belong in a democratic society. Director Zeman knows what he lent himself to. I asked him whether he realized what the consequences of that would be. He did everything on his own full responsibility, being fully aware of the risk that went with it. He formally denounced it, but, in fact, he approved of it. He even told me that he had considered the whole thing immoral, but despite that, he agreed with it, and he also admitted that VPN discussed the matter. [passage omitted]

As far as manipulation of documents of the StB [former secret police] is concerned, although I held the post of interior minister, I have never been in the StB archives, I have never entered the StB building except for two interrogations. I did not have any access to these documents. It happened that once I found an envelope on my table. It was early in the morning when I came to work, and nobody was able to tell me who brought it. The envelope contained three documents. They were not originals, they were copies. They might have been forgeries. After assessing them and consulting the appropriate persons, I gave one document to the person whom it concerned; two are damaged. This is no manipulation. If Mr. Kucerak wanted to tell me that somebody is being manipulated, at least one member of the government would have to be found who would say that, under the pretext of cooperation, either I or somebody else demanded that he carry out some tasks. I deny this. Nothing like this has ever happened to anyone. He [Kucerak] has made the whole thing up.

The fact that this attack was being prepared, that they will try this, which is one of the variants which were to be used against me, well I knew about this some time ago, I was informed about it, and I think that each point has to be proved. If it has to be proven, then both Mr. Kucerak and Mr. Gal, who used these documents to demonstrate his purity to the Federal Assembly, are standing on thin ice. They are not telling the nation the truth. And this is not worthy of people in such a position. [passage omitted]

I personally think that we should not poke around in the past. We have before us a vast number of tasks for the future, and we should talk about what Slovakia should look like, we should look for its new shape, and we should give the people a degree of certainty. Today we are unable to give them this. I think that there is calm after every storm, that this can be a purge in a certain sense, and that it could bring new momentum into political life, even though it is unpleasant for the moment, this could purge it and enrich it.

As far as the roles being played concerning my recalling, which should, in fact, be called recalling, [as heard] it is true that such intentions exist. I am aware of them, but I myself do not make a tragedy out of them. I have always said that I do not have power ambitions despite the fact that they all want to prove that I do. The only things that will happen will be what the citizens allow.

As far as questions of accusations of building personal power are concerned, ask yourselves this question: What kind of power does the prime minister have if the chairman of VPN can have him checked up on? What kind of power does the prime minister have when the spheres of influence are divided around him in the legislature, both federal and republic; in the federal government and in the Czech Government the relations are different from what they used to be. This is not a state of confrontation, it is simply different spheres of interests and standpoints. They exist. (?No one can say) that they cannot see them today, and they have ceased to exist. If I were building up personal power, then I would have to have my own people in various positions. I can give you my word of honor that only those recommended by VPN are in office, and these were not my friends. I have simply taken realistic goals, and I am cooperating with them as they were given to me [words indistinct].

To build personal power, I would have to have a large apparatus. If you go through this building, then you will find that during my period of office it has emptied a lot. It has not been built up. It would have to be proven that I am allocating money, and with the aid of this I am winning people to my side. This also has not happened. So what system of power are they talking about? It is rather an attempt to fight against the stream of opinion that I represent and of which I am a well-known representative, but I think that political struggle on the basis of views should be played by different means and should not be demonstrated in this way. This shows that we are striving for higher political ethics, but so far we have not all attained them.

If Knazko expressed some objections yesterday, this once again need not be understood as an attempt to divide society. He said specific things, however, and these must either be confirmed or disapproved. It either is or is not the truth, and concrete conclusions must be drawn accordingly. So far I think that we have proven unable to do this. Let us wait a little and see, tomorrow may be quite different.

[Stukovska] Mr. Prime Minister, allow me to ask you, is it usual when you come to record your television speech to the studio that you are met outside the building by the director?

[Meciar] No, that was the first time the director was there. He had never been outside the door before. He himself said in answer to my question, whether he was there because of this, that he was [as heard]. It has never happened before that he was waiting for me when I went to the television studios.

[Stukovska] Allow me one more question. In today's VEREJNOST we read that, according to well-informed sources, it is alleged that you do not have great support in the government apart from your friend Mr. Knazko?

[Meciar] I do not think so. Some attempts and visits to certain ministers have been noted—that they should not cooperate with me and that they should move away. This information is disinformation, it is not true. I know that they would like to create a chasm between some members of the government and myself. This has not taken place. The government continues to work. They were presenting some of their wishes as fact. If there were no interference in the government from outside, if it were allowed to work, we could be a few steps further.

[Stukovska] And what do you say to the fact that in today's VEREJNOST, Mr. Gal clearly distances himself from having given you any verbal information about Mr. Kucerak cooperating with the state security?

[Meciar] Mr. Gal gave me this information. It was during a personal conversation. He confirmed to me that Mr. Kucerak is justifiably suspected of cooperation with state security, and subsequently he confirmed to me why there is doubt about these reasons. Precisely after his statement about doubt, I said that if it is not clear, a written statement must be issued. They are asking me how I have access to this material. If I had access as prime minister of the government, I would not be surprised. But I do not know how Mr. Gal has access to this information. I insist on my standpoint that I have this from him, otherwise I would not mention him in the written document, all the more so because I knew that this could also be used against me.

[Stukovska] According to yesterday's "Aktuality" [television program], allegedly you and Mr. Knazko have not been participating in sessions of the VPN ministerial club. What is the reason for this?

[Meciar] It has been about a month since I stopped going to the club. There are two reasons. The first is that I am in VPN, and I am not happy to find that throughout Slovakia there is a campaign about the indivisibility of the functions of executive power in Slovakia and the political functions. If such positions were to be joined, this would require not only the will of the bodies, but also my will. All those who led this campaign knew that I do not want such a function, and I have said that I do not want it. I shouted this at every opportunity and, despite this, the campaign continued. So it had a different intention for solving the personnel question. The second reason is that the government is a body of state administration, and it is a political body. So the prime minister is also a political official.

In the ministerial club, the representative of the government, as the chairman of the club, was Mr. (Vet), director of the Literary Institute. So it was not the prime minister of the government who was deciding on the political direction of the discussion, the content of the discussion, but it was decided by the director of the Literary Science Institute. Many times they considered solutions to problems that were often not relevant to points under discussion, and they were to a certain degree orienting the government slightly differently; although every step appeared to be acceptable, the overall tendency began to be inclined in a direction that was not acceptable.

First I said that I did not agree with these steps. When there was no change, I demonstrated my disatisfaction by not going to the sessions of the ministerial club. As well as this, I wish to point out that the ministerial club is not an body that can adopt standpoints. It is a council. Despite this, the club made decisions about influencing government policy, about coordination in the legislature and so on, apparently all on the basis of consensus, but basically it was taking over the political management of the government, and if I am to bear the responsibility for the policy of the government, and it is to be directed by someone else, then it is incompatible. Especially when this other person (?does it after) working hours.

[Stukovska] "Radiozurnal" listeners are also asking why these serious conflicts were not dealt with within the VPN in the recent assembly, and why it had to be dealt with on television?

[Meciar] Whether we like it or not, these conflicts concern the inhabitants of Slovakia. They should know about them. At the VPN assembly, the agenda was given as it was. I pointed out there several times that the situation in enterprises, in communities, should be evaluated, we should look at the membership base of VPN. We should have considered these questions, and they were not on the agenda.

If you notice, the whole situation is being interpreted to mean that Meciar must not be chairman of the council of VPN, and he does not even want it, but that is being kept quiet, the effect is being created as if he wanted to be that, and this must be stopped because it is dangerous. It is not being considered at all that the fundamental question should be the relationship of the state and political parties and the movements of democratic society, and from that should be deduced what the position of the office of this or that person should be. And because this whole avalanche was coming in my direction, this was clear to everybody. [passage omitted]

I kept quiet about all this because of VPN unity, but it has now come to a point when nothing else can be done

but to tell the public the truth, because the other side is now moving so fast to get ahold of power. I am not talking about power, I am talking about the need to serve the people. This is verging on the possibility of the creation of structures of the recently toppled political systems, and this is a greater danger that does not only threaten me or the government; this is a danger that threatens everyone.

Slovak TV Employees Seek Director's Resignation

LD0403205391 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The reputation of Slovak television considerably suffered because of the [Meciar] affair, above all the reputation of its proclaimed independence. That was why the trade unions called a rally in front of the television building in Mlynska Dolina [in Bratislava] during today's lunch interval.

Following a special invitation, Peter Zeman, director of Slovak television, also participated in the rally. He again denied he had intended to pass the tape with [Meciar's] address on [to Public Against Violence] and denied that any kind of influence had been exercised on him by the coordinating center of Public Against Violence [VPN]. He blamed Milan Knazko for not being entirely truthful in his address. The rally took another turn when Imrich (?Peliar), editor in chief of television newsreel, was asked by employees to take the floor. He used to wait for the prime minister in front of the television studio. He fully confirmed Milan Knazko's version. [passage omitted]

The trade unions and the Union of Slovak Television Employees presented a resolution to be approved by those present. The resolution demands that the Slovak National Council [SNC] without delay set up a temporary council of Slovak television to be in charge until the law on Slovak television is adopted. They ask the Government of the Slovak Republic to recall Mr. Peter Zeman, central director of Slovak television, because of his incompetence in policy-making and political management of television. They call on all the political and cultural representatives of Slovakia to support with their authority a speedy pushing through of legislative and economic conditions concerning the existence of Slovak television as an independent organization which stands above the parties and is a public, cultural, and educational institution. [passage omitted]

The resolution continues: We wish to provide objective reporting and not to be a simple instrument used for manipulating public opinion. We feel that efforts to drag us into political struggles continue to exist—which is something the employees of Slovak television cannot agree with. We apologize to Mr. Meciar as well as to our public, and we believe that, after all, we will manage to force those in charge to adopt the law on Slovak television that would guarantee its independence.

VPN's Gal on Meciar TV Speech Issue

LD0403222291 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Fedor Gal, chairman of the Coordination Center of Public Against Violence [VPN], answered a CTK question on the attempts of the Coordination Center to censor the Sunday television speech of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

He pointed out that for about a month now, Vladimir Meciar has not been taking part in any of the key meetings of the top bodies of VPN, whether the ministerial club, the Slovak Council of VPN, or coalition talks. At one such meeting in the ministerial club last Tuesday evening, the participants agreed that if any one of them speaks in public concerning key speeches, this should only take place after mutual consultation so the thesis of the speech is known. This also concerned the Sunday speech of Prime Minister Meciar. At the same time, however, we all stated, Fedor Gal said, that it is unacceptable to interfere in any way in the public speeches of Prime Minister Meciar or anyone else. This is what Peter Zeman, director of Slovak television, said to Prime Minister Meciar when he entered the building.

According to Fedor Gal, Milan Knazko interpreted the words "it would be immoral to censor" as meaning that Peter Zeman said that he considered it immoral, but he had to do it.

Adviser Sees VPN Crisis as 'Threat to Democracy'

LD0503101191 Prague CTK in English 0830 GMT 5 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 5 (CTK)—Czechoslovak president's adviser Martin Butora has said the current crisis in the Slovak Public Against Violence (VPN) movement was due to "a clear attempt at reversing the results of the democratic course of the recent VPN congress", adding that this was "an extremely serious threat to democracy. [no closing quotation marks as received]

The results of the VPN congress (at Topolcany February 23-24) testified to the integrity of the VPN, in contrast to the differentiation in its Czech sister movement, the Civic Forum, but Sunday's TV address by Slovak External Relations Minister Milan Knazko indicated that disputes within the VPN had been suppressed.

In an interview for CTK, Butora said that "the group which failed at the congress to push through its interests, has now set out on a risky path paved by personal ambitions and efforts to control Slovakia's political scene without a clear political, economic or social program".

Butora said he was convinced that some of these people are capable of achieving their goals even at the cost of a total disruption of society, or even at the cost of Slovakia's separation.

Asked for his opinion about the future development of the VPN, Butora said "authoritarian populism is endangering the whole of Czechoslovakia, the whole of Central Europe. Slovakia is a very sensitive, neuralgic point. If it loses its fight for democracy, it will inevitably destabilize its wider neighbourhood".

Meciar, Gal Express Views on VPN Assembly

AU0503110991 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 26 Feb 91 p 3

["aj"-signed report: "Conflict of Two Principles"]

[Text] At the republic assembly of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement in Topolcany, we recorded, among other things, the following opinions of two personalities of the Slovak political stage, VPN movement representatives, on the proceedings and the results of the two-day meeting.

Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar: Two tendencies marked the assembly, and these tendencies apparently will cause problems in the future. On the one hand, there is an unequivocal subscription to the civic principles and the civic movement, while on the other hand, there is a tightening up of the membership hierarchy, of the statutes, etc., which should reinforce the internal structure within the framework of the gradual preparation for the transfer to another system. The VPN movement differentiates itself in the opinion sphere. It is a feature that is natural in civic movements. It is characteristic of them. This instability of opinion should be compensated for by organizational stability. I have always been an advocate of a more flexible form that allows for easier adjustment to changes. The districts indicate that the current way of life in cities, villages, or enterprises is not sufficiently accepted, and the response to the actual problems occurring there is insufficient. As far as the government is concerned, the need for support from a broad civic bloc is obvious, and this approach might go beyond the framework and borders of the VPN movement. The government will have to seek the understanding of a greater contingent of Czechoslovak citizens. This is a hope for the upcoming term.

The issue of so-called personal union, or the combination of a leading post in the movement with a leading post in the government, received absolutely unwarranted publicity. It was caused by this issue being submitted as a topic for discussion at the VPN district assemblies by some representatives of the VPN Coordinating Center, who even asked that the assemblies comment on the issue. At the same time, nobody, neither I, nor Messrs. Dubcek, Calfa, or F. Miklosko, showed any interest in accumulating these posts. This issue was brought up artificially and as a preventive measure, and it might have given the impression that something was happening backstage. I can only repeat that I have no personal interest in this combined post. As far as prospects for a solution to the problem of the personal union in the VPN movement are concerned, I can respond with a question: What West European state with a democratic system does not have the ruling party chairman as prime minister? This is the case everywhere, only the VPN movement in Slovakia is an exception. An interesting situation arises wherein the VPN representatives do not want to accept any government posts at any price, and that is a fact. This problem will have to be dealt with; ways to combine the execution of political power with the state administration must be found. Today, however, it is a somewhat premature consideration, and that is one of the reasons for dealing with this issue in a complex manner, as this is only one of the elements of which the future system consists.

Fedor Gal, chairman of the Slovak Council of the VPN movement: When one speaks about the Meciarites and Galites in the VPN movement, I am not certain whether the contest is about opinions or the protagonists. I do not believe it is either a clash of opinions or a dispute between two personalities. I think that it is a conflict of two principles. I personally champion the idea that at this stage of development of our society, there is no point in comparing and applying various models practiced in functioning democracies. I am convinced, however, that the dependence on strong personalities at the head of the state or the government is very strong in Slovakia, and that there is even a large portion of bolshevism in each of us that is also strong. This can be resisted only by effective mechanisms of social control over power, and one part of these mechanisms is the separation of executive and political power. I emphasize again that this in no way is a Gal-Meciar controversy or vice versa. It is a conflict of principles.

Our Topolcany assembly was extremely tiring but, at the same time, it was vitally important. There are several reasons for this. I will at least point out the fact that we managed to avoid the errors made by the Civic Forum. At a time of a critical social situation, in which we bear responsibility for dealing with concrete problems, we did not resort to dealing with the internal problems of the VPN movement, we did not split, we have not fallen apart, but rather remain a movement, and at that the only movement here. This is the significant fact.

I would also like to draw attention to the assembly address by Jozef Kucerak, Slovak Republic deputy prime minister, who contradicted the observations by some assembly participants that we do not sufficiently support the government—he personally feels that he is supported sufficiently and does not see any problems in the relationship between the political representation of the movement and the representatives of the movement in the government. One has to be careful about one thing: We must not identify support for the government with glorification of individuals or with stabilization of themes.

Slovak Democratic Party Backs Government Program

LD0403160691 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] The Slovak Democratic Party expressed support for the process that will guarantee political and economic sovereignty of Slovakia in the interest of the joint state.

In its view it noted that the current political situation caused by the controversy within Public Against Violence might be an obstacle to the implementation of the program of the Slovak Government.

The Democratic Party supports firmly the governmental program which is in harmony with its own program.

Slovak Nationalists Protest Bilingual Signs

AU0503095591 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 28 Feb 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Slovak Only"]

[Text] Bratislava— "The Committee of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation [Matica Slovenska] understands the preparation the Slovak Republic constitution as the preparation of the constitution of a sovereign state that can form an alliance with another state of its own will," says a statement adopted at yesterday's session of this institution. The Committee of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation also alerted the Slovak National Council and the Slovak Republic Government to the absence of procedural regulations for the Law on the Official Language in the Slovak Republic. This concerns, in particular, the unlawful use of bilingual signs denoting the names of villages, cities and their parts, streets, and other public places in ethnically mixed areas. According to the law, these names are to be denoted in the Slovak language. The Committee of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation asked the Slovak National Council and the Slovak Republic Government for quick and effective remedial action [to remove bilingual signs].

Independent Group Wants To Represent All Hungarians

LD0303044991 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Peter Szoerenyi report from the Slovak Liberal Party general assembly in Galanta; date not given—recorded]

[Text] The Independent Magyar Initiative [FMK] is ready to represent all Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia. The organization does not agree with the eventual extension of the minority one-party system in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. For this reason, it deems harmful those attempts that artificially exaggerate the endangered local population of Hungarians and thereby want to justify the creation of a united Hungarian party. These things are also formulated in the program of the FMK for this year. There are three Hungarian political groupings in Slovakia. According to the liberal FMK, the overemphasizing of national ideologies, regardless of which side it occurs on, represents only the surface. What is taking shape underneath is a centralist outlook based on the principle of prestige. This is contrary to democracy and the multiparty system.

An interesting topic of the general assembly was the debate that went on about the local compensation draft bill. Virtually every political group in Czechoslovakia is in favor of the return of land. The FMK, however, would like this to happen on the 1945 basis and says that the dividing line should not be 1948, which is the majority stand. It says that Hungarians who, at that time, were chased from their domicile on the basis of collective guilt could get back their property. There is actually some chance of this happening following a parliamentary compromise.

Incidentally, the leadership of the movement, which functions as a party, has been re-elected. The actual leader remains Karoly Toth, although his function has changed.

Slovak Social Democrats' Daily Ceases Publication

AU0403122391 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Feb 91 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefly From Home" column: "It Is Already Here!"]

[Text] Readers of LIDOVE NOVINY will be able to purchase this Social Democratic Party [SDS] in Slovakia daily for the last time on 28 February. It is the first daily in Slovakia that will cease to be published. The newspaper was established in April 1990 with a print run of between 10,000 and 17,000 issues. It briefly reached 35,000 issues. The unfavorable economic conditions in which the Slovak press finds itself are the cause of the newspaper's bankruptcy. SDS in Slovakia Chairman Boris Zala said: "The problem does not only lie in the 22 percent tax, but also in the policy of the governing parties toward the other political parties. This mainly concerns their financial safeguards. The government makes decisions on the distribution of financial resources, that is, the Public Against Violence movement and Christian Democratic Movement government. Approximately 10 days ago it distributed 30.7 million korunas from the state budget among the parliamentary parties."

PRC Foreign Minister Pays Official Visit

LD0403150191 Budapest MTI in English 1406 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 4 (MTI)—As part of his European tour, Qian Qichen, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of China, arrived in Hungary on Monday afternoon.

During his official visit to Hungary, Qian Qichen will soon be sitting down at the negotiating table with his Hungarian host, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

On Tuesday, Qian Qichen is scheduled to meet Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic, Jozsef Antall, prime minister, and Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament. The Chinese foreign minister is to meet members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of parliament as well.

Talks Previewed

LD0403165191 Budapest MTI in English 1629 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 4 (MTI)—Hungarian-Chinese foreign ministerial talks opened on Monday afternoon in Budapest. The negotiating delegations are led by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, currently on an officical visit to Hungary.

The Chinese side expects the talks to result in a further intensification of the traditionally good cooperation between the two countries, and that the current visit will promote the better understanding of one another's efforts, the Chinese foreign minister said, in his statement on arrival in Budapest's Ferihegy Airport.

Qian Qichen stressed China is ready to further develop its relationship with Hungary on the existing lines.

In connection with his planned talks with Hungarian leaders, including President Arpad Goncz, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Speaker of Parliament Gyorgy Szabad, Qian Qichen welcomed the opportunity of being able to receive first-hand information about the major changes that have taken place in the country since his last visit to Hungary, and to form a picture of the situation that has come about. The Chinese foreign minister hopes the meeting will promote mutual familiarization.

Qian, Jeszenszky Air Views

LD0403191791 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen has begun three days of talks in Hungary. The head of Beijing's diplomacy first held discussions with Geza Jeszenszky. The last Hungarian-Chinese foreign ministers' meeting was in Beijing, in December 1988.

At the first round of talks, the foreign ministers informed one another about the two countries' internal situations. Qian Qichen spoke primarily about the Chinese economic reform. He said that an annual 6-percent growth is expected in Beijing for the 1990's.

Hinting at the Beijing student action, which led to a cooling of relations between the two countries, the Chinese foreign minister commented that it is in the interest of the entire world that there should be stability in China.

Turning to international issues, Geza Jeszenszky spoke about Hungary's integration into Europe and its relationship with the neighbors. At the same time, he emphasized that the Asian region is also important for Hungarian foreign policy.

Qian Qichen in conclusion reported on the development of Chinese-Soviet relations. The foreign ministers will discuss Hungarian-Chinese bilateral relations tomorrow.

Bilateral Economic Efforts Discussed

LD0403214291 Budapest MTI in English 1917 GMT 4 MAR 91

[Text] Budapest, March 4 (MTI) - Foreign Ministers Geza Jeszenszky of Hungary and Qian Qichen of China held a two-hour-long talk on Monday in Budapest. The Chinese foreign minister is currently on an official visit to Hungary.

In the first two rounds of the talks, scheduled to continue on Tuesday, the sides briefed each other on their domestic situations and economic efforts. Qian Qichen said that, in the wake of the Chinese reforms launched in 1979, rapid economic growth took place in the country in the 1980s, with the gross national product doubling over eight years. At the same time, this was accompanied by a rise in inflation, and for this reason a more modest, annual 6 per cent growth is envisaged for the 1990s.

Among the factors dictating the growth of the Chinese economy, the foreign minister mentioned that her economic performance should keep pace with her annual population increase of 15 million. With respect to the overall evaluation of China's internal situation, Qian Qichen said China needs stability, and the world needs a stable China.

Reviewing international issues, Jeszenszky detailed Hungary's relationship with the European integrating organizations, reporting on the development of Hungarian-Soviet relations, and the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian-Polish trilateral co-operation.

Qian Qichen said that, in China's opinion, the large-scale European changes now taking place are closely related to the changes within US-Soviet relations, although they are not necessarily the automatic result of them. Analyzing the internal situation within the Soviet Union, both foreign ministers agreed it was in their common interest for the Soviet Union to maintain her stability.

The Chinese foreign minister called attention to the growing gap in the world between the rich north and the poor south. The various regional conflicts are also becoming more serious. China sees the solution in the creation of a new political and economic world order, based on the principles laid down in the UN charter.

With respect to the Central-Eastern European changes, Qian Qichen said that China respects the decision of the peoples of the region, and is pleased to find that the security of their independence has come to foreground. China believes the minority issue is the source of one of the most serious problems in the region. It is of the opinion that the problems could be solved by the mutual respect of the countries concerned, and the enforcement of the principle of non-interference.

Compensation Bill To Receive Second Reading

LD0503112291 Budapest MTI in English 1036 GMT 5 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 5 (MTI)—In its Tuesday session, parliament decided, with 171 votes for, 91 against and three abstentions, to put the compensation bill to a second reading. (The general debate was addressed by about 100 MPs.) The second reading will probably start next week, after the committees have discussed the proposed amendments.

Parliament started a general debate over the bill on the state holiday of the Republic of Hungary. The MPs have to elevate one of the following three holidays to the rank of state holiday: March 15 - anniversary of the outbreak of the 1848-49 revolution and war of independence, August 20 - day of Saint Stephen, the king who founded the Hungarian State, October 23 - the anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian revolution.

Pozsgay Interviewed on Future Plans, Prospects

AU0503090791 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Feb 91 pp 1, 7

[Interview with independent parliamentary representative Imre Pozsgay by Lajos Pogonyi in the National Assembly on 26 February: "Everyone Is Unhappy With the Position He Holds"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] Among other things, this interview with Imre Pozsgay deals with the reasons behind his withdrawal from public activity, his views on the current situation in Hungary, his evaluation of his own situation, and his evaluation of the two leading political parties in Hungary.

[Pogonyi] You have become quite silent, or even passive in the National Assembly lately. What is the reason behind this? Indifference or lethargy? You did not comment on the arms sale scandal or the amnesty law.

[Pozsgay] Indifference and lethargy are foreign to my nature. My withdrawal is deliberate.

[Pogonyi] Why?

[Pozsgay] I took up a position as observer in November. At that time I asked for my independence and an opportunity to think and gather information. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] Let me ask you a personal question. Do you not feel lonely?

[Pozsgay] I do not feel lonely. One can also engage in politics without joining a party.

[Pogonyi] There are people who would like to see you in their party.

[Pozsgay] That is another matter. I may appear to be lonely, but I am not lonely. I am, however, withdrawn in public. Naturally, people might think that Pozsgay has been left alone; however, I still have the same number of friends, and political interest toward me has also increased. I receive hundreds of letters and telephone calls almost every day. For the time being, I keep all this in the realm of personal contacts. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] Why do you not join either the Citizens' Movement or any other organization?

[Pozsgay] I am thinking of something else. My concern is how to dissipate the increasing dissatisfaction deriving from the increasing fear and to create stability in Hungary. My big dilemma is how to force extremism and demagogy out of Hungarian public life.

[Pogonyi] While you are having such beautiful but rather abstract plans, your popularity is decreasing. According to a survey published recently, Imre Pozsgay is only the 13th on a list of illustrious Hungarian officials.

[Pozsgay] I have already been in a much worse position that that, as well as in a much better position. Besides, this position is a rather good one in today's grim world.

[Pogonyi] Speaking of the popularity list, you are flanked by a member of the Alliance of Free Democrats and a member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. What is you opinion about these two parties?

[Pozsgay] Both parties will continue to play a decisive role in Hungary; however, these parties and the public in general should know that there will be no bipolar political structure in Hungary. The current Hungarian parties are still more unstable internally than their image. It has not yet been decided which are the real political parties in Hungary. [passage omitted]

Skubiszewski Interviewed on Relations With FRG

LD0403230491 Berlin Radio Aktwell Network in German 2110 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Klaus Frankel; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Frankel] Minister, in this the first week of March, there is a strong revival in German-Polish relations after a period of relative quiet. Proof of this is the overlapping of two important visits, the official visit of the president of the Bundestag, Professor Rita Suessmuth, to Warsaw, which began today, and the visit and planned talks of Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Beilecki in Bonn, which start tomorrow. Minister, what do you see as being the intention and the goals of the visit of your head of government?

[Skubiszewski, in German] We have very important and active relations with Germany, and of course the prime minister will discuss the most important matters in these relations with the federal chancellor. It is particularly a question of economic relations. The FRG is Poland's greatest partner in this sphere. Germany is also our main creditor, and this fact will also determine the importance of this problem during the prime minister's talks in Bonn. We expect the FRG to support our demands in respect of the reduction of Polish debts, as, in particular, the United States has been doing for many months. The negotiations on the future of the German-Polish treaty, I mean the major one on cooperation and neighborliness, will also surely be discussed. Therefore, it is a contact of the greatest significance, because, as you said, things have been very quiet in these relations during the last two or three months.

[Frankel] Poland has been waiting several weeks for the federal government to propose a date for the fourth round of the negotiations, which have been conducted since October, on the—as you described it—neighborliness treaty between Germany and Poland. Minister, what do you see as the reasons for the gap since the last round of talks in December?

[Skubiszewski] You should really ask the FRG Government this question, because from the Polish side there has always been the readiness to continue the negotiations, even during the elections and even during the creation of the two governments. We were always ready. And we were also against an interval, but of course we accepted with understanding the German proposal to have a break. But in my opinion, foreign policy should remain, as far as is possible, independent from domestic policy. And I observe in Germany a very great, perhaps even too great, interconnection between the two spheres—foreign policy and domestic policy. Good relations with the FRG are of national significance, and they are not dependent on the formation of one government or another in Poland. Our foreign policy remains the same, even after the change of government and even after the election of the new president.

[Frankel] Minister, in your opinion, in which fields do you see the German-Polish community of interests, which is pursued by both our neighboring countries, being implemented in the easiest, best and quickest way? Where do you see the particular chances here?

[Skubiszewski] You understand that the previous ambiguity regarding the Polish-German border has already been removed, and this is very important. Now we need the contractual structures to be expanded, and this is the importance of the negotiations on the treaty on neighborliness, on close cooperation. I am the author of the idea of a German-Polish community of interests, and to form this community of interests—it does already exist—we also need this treaty. But it is not everything. We need very good and close cooperation on three levels—the political level, the economic level, and also contacts between people on a personal level. Therefore we need intensive work from both sides in these three areas. Therefore, this interval in the negotiations on the treaty, this interval should not be extended and then, when we sign the treaty, then the grand treaty and the border treaty should be ratified as quickly as possible. Once again I am against the influence of domestic policy on this very important international matter; for German-Polish relations are not only a bilateral matter, but a matter of the greatest significance for the whole of Europe, and for the unification of Europe. [passage omitted]

[Frankel] Minister, thank you very much indeed for this talk.

Prime Minister Bielecki Departs for Germany

LD0503102891 Warsaw PAP in English 0932 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 5—Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki left Warsaw this morning for a two-day visit to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Officials View CSFR Defense Minister's Visit

AU0503094291 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 28 Feb 91 pp 1, 2

[Wieslaw Rasala report: "A Working Visit by the CSFR Defense Minister"]

[Text] CSFR Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky paid a one-day working visit to Warsaw on 27 February. He was met at Warsaw Airport by Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk and members of the Defense Ministry leadership. Marketa Fialkova, CSFR ambassador to Poland, and General Jaroslav Nahalka, CSFR military attache, were also present.

The CSFR defense minister was taken from the airport straight to the Ministry of National Defense for talks that were also attended by Division General Zdzislaw Stelmaszuk, chief of the Polish General Staff and vice minister of national defense, and Deputy Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz. Cooperation between the two Defense Ministries was discussed. The interlocutors said that seeking and implementing new spheres of cooperation is in the vital interests of both countries, as illustrated by the conclusion between the Polish and CSFR defense ministries of an agreement on the main paths of military cooperation, signed by the two defense ministers.

Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk told POLSKA ZBROJNA: "This is a very important step along the path of our cooperation, which possesses its own history. One should make it clear that our agreement is not directed against any country in Europe or the world. We wish to support each other in reforming and perfecting our armed forces, because they are still necessary. One hopes for the day when the security of individual members of this European house will not depend on strength but on understanding, openness, and sincerity. That is our objective. It is still distant, and the road before us is long and hard, but we have embarked upon a path of mutual close cooperation with our southern neighbor. The decisions we have made are promising. Groups of experts will discuss the details. The agreement covers 18 very comprehensive spheres.

"As far as the technical sphere is concerned, the agreement calls for mutual support in the production or procurement of armaments. As far as the training sphere is concerned, there will be no joint exercises, but there will be an exchange of experience, and army officers will receive training in senior military academies in the other country. There will also be exchanges of experts and joint research work. The agreement also covers our international activity. We expect the Vienna processes to proceed quite quickly. Following prior consultations, we will try to present a general, joint stance in Vienna."

Lubos Dobrovsky: "The talks at the Polish Ministry of National Defense were completely harmonious. It is admirable that our views were very similar to those of Minister Kolodziejczyk. The talks mainly concerned further cooperation between our Armies. At the same time, we both think that we are not going to form any military bloc. What we will do is seek new possibilities of cooperation in training officers. We will also seek ways of coordinating the transformation of our Armies so costs can be kept to a minimum and effectiveness raised to a maximum. We also agreed we would exchange information on theoretical work on defense strategy under the new conditions posed by the emergence of a system of European security. I think the talks have been fruitful; we discovered many spheres that experts from both ministries are now going to implement by means of specific work."

Janusz Onyszkiewicz: "The present agreement replaces the old one. It is best not to mention it because it was written in the language of a certain ideology, the language of the cold war. What we wanted was to sanction our continuing cooperation by means of a new agreement. One should also admit that the Armed Forces of both countries have similar problems. Our ministries are faced with the need to alter their structure and tasks, disengage the armies, and treat them as nonpolitical, nonparty forces. There are also purely technical problems connected with reductions, such as changes in training methods. We also want to abandon the types of weapons we have had until now. We must, therefore, consider various sources of supply, so there is no domination by any single supplier. It is much easier when one does things together.

"This does not mean that our agreement is a closed one. Neither is it directed against anyone. This kind of cooperation is meant to encourage the construction of a single Europe and increase the level of confidence between countries."

The CSFR defense minister was also received by President Lech Walesa, chief of the Polish Armed Forces.

Commentary Says USSR Also Lost in Gulf War

AU0503102391 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 1 Mar 91 p 4

[Leon Bojko commentary: "The Kremlin Lost as Well"]

[Text] The Soviet Union wants to have a presence in the Middle East. It would like it to be dynamic and significant. This is not surprising, because for over a century now the Middle East has been an area of intense Russian interest, and the USSR has important interests there today.

There is, however, a great difference between having interests and sincere desires to have these implemented and having the political capability to do so.

There was a time when the USSR had a very strong position in Arab states and the majority of these states regarded it as their natural ally. The number of Soviet allies in the Middle East today has dwindled to two countries: Syria and Iraq.

In the last phase of the Gulf war, the Soviet Union did everything to try and save one of its allies from disaster. It failed.

The "Gorbachev Plan" proved to be a diplomatic failure; it really could not have been otherwise, because the Soviet Union was in no way—not even symbolically—represented among the ranks of the allied forces in the Gulf. The reason for this is that conservative forces became dominant in USSR internal policy, and these forces continue to profess rivalry with the West. Furthermore, they did not attempt to hide their feelings of support for Saddam.

Now, these people are undoubtedly frustrated, irritated, and astounded by the swift collapse of their favorite amidst the desert dunes. This only shows the inherent weaknesses of these conservative forces.

To achieve success in politics, a country needs to have strength, though not necessarily military strength. Success can also be achieved through the country's economic strength, its relations with the international community, its prestige, and the respect felt towards its political leaders. In all likelihood, even this last element was lacking in relation to the USSR; therefore, it is very unlikely that hollow declarations could have ensured political and diplomatic success.

As the realization of this begins to sink in (leaving aside the hollow propaganda), it will clearly have very serious repercussions on the internal situation of the USSR.

Idea of Civilian Defense Minister Examined

AU0503095891 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 28 Feb 91 p 1

[Interview with First Deputy Defense Minister Bronislaw Komorowski by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "A Matter of Importance Not Only to the Army"]

[Text] [POLSKA ZBROJNA] You have said that "the appointment of a civilian minister of national defense has already been decided and may occur before the elections." Would you care to explain?

[Komorowski] The question of separating the defense minister from direct military command has been considered for quite some time. It was raised during the presidential campaign and has also been mentioned by representatives of various influential circles.

The idea has been accepted by the Defense Ministry's military command, as illustrated by the fact that the General Staff is still working on a new structure and new powers for a "civilian" Defense Ministry. The topic is also a key element of the work of the prime minister's interministerial commission for reforming the organization of national defense, to which Vice Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz belongs.

Minister of State Jacek Merkel expressed an official stance on this matter during a meeting with military leadership cadres in January. Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, minister of national defense, has also spoken on this topic on several occasions. He thinks having a civilian head of the Defense Ministry is positive in many respects. For one thing, the Army would no longer be involved in various kinds of political contests, the kind that occur when, for example, there is a change of government. Apart from that, a civilian minister would guarantee continuity in commanding the Armed Forces, regardless of the current balance of forces in Poland.

Personally, I think that with the coming of the elections, the time is ripe to consider this change, though I realize the fears that military people might have about entrusting the Defense Ministry to a civilian. I am sure, however, that these fears are quite unjustified. The experience of many countries proves them so. Of course, the final decision will depend on the president, as head of the Armed Forces, or the prime minister. The Sejm will also undoubtedly want to speak out on this important issue.

This subject is constantly raised in meetings attended by me, and is often discussed with great emotion. No wonder, it is a topic of importance not only to the Army.

That is why I am trying to honestly present all the pros and cons about having a civilian defend minister. I have recently spoken about it in Wroclaw, during a meeting with cadres of the Silesian Military District and at a news conference. So there is no reason to treat this topic, which has been in the pipeline for some time, as a sensation.

Although the appointment of a civilian defense minister appears predetermined, the date of the appointment depends on the relevant state bodies. I think it would be best not to postpone the matter too long. The forthcoming parliamentary elections might tempt people to use the unfinished Defense Ministry reforms as a slogan in the election campaign.

PFCh-D Established; Founding Meeting Held

AU0503104991 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 1-3 Mar 91 pp 1,2

["ab" -signed report: "The Polish Christian-Democratic Forum Has Been Established"]

[Excerpts] The founding meeting of the Polish Christian-Democratic Forum [PFCh-D] took place in Ojrzanow near Warsaw on 28 February. It was attended by 40 representatives of various social milieus all over Poland that are linked to Christian-Democratic values. The talks were chaired by Dr. Zdzislaw Prochowski. The first person to speak was Maciej Wrzeszcz, who presented the ideological and political reasons for the creation of the Forum [passage omitted]

The PFCh-D, said M. Wrzeszcz, was inspired by the PAX Association, but is neither a continuation of it nor a new form of it. It is a new political entity, created with the help of other persons and milieus whose ways of thinking on Poland's future are similar. By including the word "Forum" in its name, the PFCh-D emphasizes its ideological and programmatic openness toward other organizations with a similar profile, especially political Christian-Democratic groups. There is a clear danger of a strengthening of a secular and liberal left wing in Poland, including a strong postcommunist left wing, whose wealth stems from the nomenklatura companies. There has not been any united, centrist Christian-Democratic camp in Poland, and this camp's present division into many groups does not permit an effective opposition to that left wing.

The PFCh-D's immediate tasks, continued M. Wrzeszcz, include working out a detailed program that suits genuine national needs, with particular reference to the problems of Polish families and young people's prospects, the development of PFCh-D regional bodies, participation in the forthcoming parliamentary election, and preparing the first PFCh-D congress that will adopt a program and appoint a permanent board of management. [passage omitted]

The meeting adopted a provisional board of management as follows: Chairman—Maciej Wrzeszcz; deputy chairmen—Zdzslaw Prochowski and Anna Olejniczuk-Merta; secretary—Ryszard Rowinski. [passage omitted]

Opinion Poll Shows 'Optimism is Decreasing'

AU0503094591 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Feb 91 p 2

[Jan Rogala report: "Disenchantment Grows"]

[Text] Only 25 percent of those people polled by the Public Opinion Research Center said that the present situation in Poland is still encouraging. More than 50 percent said they were frustrated and dejected. Optimism is decreasing compared to poll results a year ago. Those polled strongly attributed their anxieties on increasing social tensions; almost 50 percent are worried about the future and approximately 20 percent have absolutely no faith that things will get better.

According to 33 percent of those polled, the next three months will see little change and social tensions are expected to remain at present levels. Almost 50 percent said they expect these tensions to increase.

Compared to January 1991 opinion results, there has only been a marginal fall in the people's confidence in the government. After the temporary peak in expectations soon after the presidential elections optimism is again on the downturn.

More than 50 percent of those polled believe that the economic situation is bad and there is increasing pessimism about the economy. Social support for the Balcerowicz plan is declining and the plan is acquiring more and more opponents. Nevertheless, approximately 50 percent still believe that the government is working to give Poland an opportunity to emerge from its economic crisis.

Economic 'Shopping Basket' Figures Analyzed

PM0103095091 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 2 Feb 91 p 4

[Article by Prof. Wieslaw Krencik, member of the Warsaw University Faculty of Economy: "POLITYKA's New Basket"]

[Text] I place a high value on the information content of POLITYKA's annual publication of the shopping basket list; however, I do not believe it reflects the changes in the population's living standards during 1990 in relation to previous years precisely enough.

First, we do not have a chance to see the price movements that occurred in the course of the year. Overall prices of staple goods and services purchased by the population in December 1990 were higher than a year before by as much as 250 percent, but the pattern of their increases was very irregular. In contrast to 1989, when the high rate of price increases was not noted until the period between August and December, we could see a converse process in 1990: The highest price increases were noted in January and February (80 percent and 24 percent, respectively,) and subsequently the figures fell to between 7 and 1.8 percent per month until August, at time point they became more stable at the level of 5-6 percent per month between September and December. Such significant variations in price movements must undoubtedly have affected the population's living standards from one month to the next. This is why December 1990 prices are not representative of the whole year.

Second, pay levels rose along with the price movements. In December 1990 average nominal wages (for the five major sectors of the socialized economy) were 142 percent higher than a year earlier, and their rate of increase was extremely variable over that period of time. Even more importantly, the rate of increase in nominal wages did not parallel the rate of price increases during that period.

With these considerations in mind, I would recommend that we adopt a shopping basket that indicates the quantities of selected goods that an average monthly wage would purchase in selected months of the year 1990. To provide reference figures against which the price variations in 1990 can be seen, I quote analogically computed data for 1989 and 1990 and for December 1990.

This arrangement of available data yields highly interesting conclusions.

As early as 1989, the purchasing power of the population's wages was significantly lower than in 1988. Here, a particularly sizeable decrease was noted regarding foodstuffs. In 1990 the purchasing power of the average wage suffered a dramatic reduction, in some cases even to the levels of December 1989. For particular types of goods, this decrease was as much as 40-60 percent. It is significant that this affected not only foodstuffs but also noncomestibles. March figures show a considerable increase in the purchasing power of wages over January, though in relation to December 1989 the improvement is only very slight. This was because in March the average wage rose by as much as 40 percent, whereas prices went up by only 4 percent. It must be pointed out here, however, that the 40-percent pay increase was achieved mainly as a result of the cumulative effect of payments made out of enterprise profits for the preceding year. If we exclude these payments, we will see that the pay increase amounted only to 10 percent. This means that over the relevant period of time the purchasing power of wages increased mainly for those social groups which received payments out of enterprise profits.

We note in turn that in June the purchasing power of wages decreased in relation to March figures, because in June 1990 the average pay increase went up by 3.4 percent, while the average wage increased by only 1.4 percent. We must also point out here, however, that in the case of many goods, the purchasing power of wages was even lower in June that in the previous January. The table indicates that in June the prices of noncomestibles increased at a much higher rate than the population's wages. In September and December there was a significant increase in the purchasing power of the average wage in relation to both foodstuffs and noncomestibles;

however, for the majority of goods the purchasing power of wages was much lower in December 1990 than a year earlier.

These data, when presented against the background of POLITYKA's shopping basket, demonstrate that the December prices quoted in the basket failed to reflect fully the scale of the decrease in the living standards of the wage-earning public that took place during 1990. They also point to potential problems that could arise as a consequence of the projected prices and incomes policy for the first quarter of 1991. If the average real wages for December 1990 were 30 percent down on the preceding year, then surely any further drop is not possible if we want to avoid profound social anger and unrest—even if the scale of the drop in real wages for January were not as large as it was back in 1990.

See the Power of Your Money, or What We Could Buy For an Average Monthly Wage [lines 1 through 26 in the table below represent the following commodities: 1, Rye-and-wheat mixed grain bread, 1 loaf; 2, "Poznan" wheat flour, 1 kg; 3, Four-egg pasta, 500 grams [g]; 4, Semolina, 1 kg; 5, Pork shoulder, 1 kg; 6, Beef on the bone, 1 kg; 7, Chicken without giblets, 1 kg; 8, Creamery butter, 1 kg; 9, Milk margarine, 1 kg; 10, Rape oil, 1 liter; 11, Milk (3.2 percent fat), 1 liter; 12, Curd cheese, high fat grade, 1 kg; 13, "Tylzycki" hard cheese, 1 kg; 14, Sugar, granulated, 1 kg; 15, Real coffee, 100 g; 16, Madras tea, 100 g; 17, Potatoes, 1 kg; 18, "Stolowa" pure vodka, 500 milliliter; 19, Bedlinen sheeting, 100 percent cotton, 1 meter; 20, Men's shirt, polycotton mixture; 21, Domestic refrigerator, 284 liter capacity; 22, Plain tea glass; 23, Washing powder, 1 packet; 24, "Polopiryna" pain relieving tablets, pack of 20; 25, "Etyline 94" gasoline, 1 liter; 26, Electrical energy, 1 kilowatt-hour.]

			Dec.	1990				
	1988	1989	1989	Jan.	March	June	Sep.	Dec.*
1.	1,185	1,017	787	355	464	425	524	653
2.	735	667	532	237	268	255	332	438
3.	533	534	431	285	268	223	242	291
4.	715	814	473	243	221	208	267	355
5.	103	71	77	40	68	44	52	61
6.	136	95	117	60	109	72	82	92
7.	97	64	124	73	114	59	71	92
8.	76	57	68	48	118	92	98	65
9.	-	-	290	107	207	174	163	190
10.	545	436	175	119	136	130	131	153
11.	-	-	872	528	761	944	1,136	1,127
12.	389	201	188	122	172	145	194	198
13.	127	95	107	71	97	71	85	74
14.	331	245	218	97	187	193	233	299
15.	316	251	198	190	276	259	300	369
16.	-	-	728	323	297	233	262	316
17.	-	-	2,115	1,537	2,379	2,321	2,333	3,014
18.	35	42	51	37	47	42	52	69
19.	79	109	123	86	84	67	78	98
20.	26	29	34	25	29	23	25	27
21.	0.55	0.64	0.73	0.3	0.43	0.39	0.39	0.44
22.	-	-	1,633	618	644	575	711	936
23.	-	-	613	301	225	178	208	257
24.	-	-	3,045	3,120	721	642	800	1,059
25.	457	465	542	260	420	374	350	401
26.	-	-	28,592	5,860	9,472	8,434	5,832	-

* preliminary figures

Further on Roman's State of Nation Report

AU0403170091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1520 GMT 4 Mar 91

["Part five" of "State of the Nation Report" by Prime Minister Petre Roman to the Parliament in Bucharest on 26 February]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/3/1991—An essential element of the government's macroeconomic adjustment programme for 1991 is a strict financial policy in the state administration sector. In agreement with the considerably smaller role and weight of the state in the economy as a result of the fiscal reform measures carried out in 1990, and of the long-term changes in the fiscal system that will be initiated this year, the government regards 1991 as an important transition year in fiscal policy. Under these circumstances, the government plans a central administration budget deficit of about 37 billion lei (1.5 per cent of the GNP estimated for 1991).

Under the revenues column, the fiscal reform implemented in preparation for the programme adjusted for 1991 provides for a broader base and a higher flexibility of the fiscal system which diminished the distortions inherent in the former fiscal system. The tax on goods circulation was thoroughly reconsidered as of 1 November 1990. The basis for taxation was extended from all finished commodities made in the country and intended for domestic consumption to all commodities and services (with the exception of exports). The tax structure was simplified and taxation was changed: it is expressed in terms of value and in this process it has considerably been lowered, diminishing the negative impact of tax accumulation, with the tax on intermediates and fixed assets being considerably lower than that on finished goods. Secondly, the payments of state budget—one of the chief causes of the financial problems on enterprises in the eighties—was replaced by a tax on profit levied from all enterprises—private as well as state-owned—as of 1 January 1991. The new tax on profit conceived for a market-oriented economy has eased the high fiscal burden of enterprises in the old system; also their control over their own revenues was strengthened when the various funds that they had to set up were canceled. Thirdly, the old tax on the total pay fund of state enterprises was replaced as of 1 January 1991 by a tax on individual pay. This taxation system is not harsher. In our opinion, it is one way to fairly distribute the public costs burden among tax-payers. Finally, the new customs duty system is intended to make a contribution of its own to growing revenues. Adding to these important fiscal reform measures are the social security contribution from 10.13 per cent to 20 per cent of the gross payment (that is, before taxation) as of 1 November 1990. The measure had to be taken in order to ease the pressure that the higher pensions and the payment of benefits to the least favoured social group put on the budget.

In the budget expenditure column, investment—accounting for the previous years—has been reduced substantially in 1991, especially through the transfer of most of the investments and their financing from the state budget to enterprises.

Moreover, the government regards this lower spending on investment as justified at a time when macroeconomic stability is the main economic target. However, the government intends to promote non-government investments as well which will partially offset the state's cut in investment as the role of the recently created private sector will grow. For that aim, the fiscal burden of enterprises has been eased and the share of revenue going to investment benefit from a substantial cut down on taxes in order to help enterprises put more money of their own in investment. As for current spending, the government intends to strengthen control over the expenditure of all central administration agents and not to exceed the budgetary appropriations for local administrations. Furthermore, after a substantial approach to price liberalisation and of adjustment measures-subsidies will be tightly controlled in 1991.

It is the government's intention to directly subsidise only a narrow range of products including these of special importance to the "consumption basket" of the least favoured social groups. Although the government admits that many of the former state enterprises stated [as received] to become commercial companies will be faced with great financial problems in 1991, it does intend to subsidise them, but will persuade them to restructure—possibly with temporary aid from the state administration—or to file for bankruptcy. An end to interest-free credits for these enterprises will be another way to get state assistance.

Such budget spending cuts may result in lower-than-planned total spending, and accordingly increase the social security appropriations such as "the state's handouts to employees and pensioners, child benefits, maternity allowances, scholarships for schoolchildren and students from low-income families, allowances for the handicapped. Besides, spending on education and particularly health, which had reached a low level in the past years, will grow. [no closing quotes as received]

The government believes that the above measures on budget spending and revenues are enough to warrant the attainment of the budget targets for 1991. However, should the government fail to make these revenues during the year, it is ready to cut spending in order to attain its general fiscal targets. Moreover, should unforeseen elements inherent in the economic change require extra budgets in the course of 1991, they will be balanced out.

To prevent the new private enterprises from overcrowding the credit market, particularly since strict monetary policy aims are planned for 1991, the government intends to resort to non-banking finances to meet part of their demands. Accordingly, the government plans at least 7

billion lei in such kind of credits, limiting the bank-financed deficit of the central administration to up to 18 billion lei (about 1 percent of the estimated GNP for 1991). This operation, undertaken for the first time in Romania may also prove useful in the development of the domestic financial market. Banking and non-banking finances to support the deficit of the central administration will be criteria for action in the government.

The government is also concerned with the structure of the fiscal system, particularly with its flexibility, simplicity and fairness. Moreover, the government is aware that such a fiscal system should be developed as would fit a market economy. That being so, the government will pledge to take basic measures to restructure the fiscal system after 1991. In 1992, the tax on goods circulation will be replaced by a value-added tax and the salary tax will be extended to become a general income tax in 1993. In both these fields, the Romanian authorities used the benefit of assistance from the International Monetary Fund.

Former UVR President on Reasons for Resignation

AU0403181791 Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 26/27 Feb 91 p 1

[Interview with former Vatra Romaneasca (UVR) President Radu Ceontea by Neli Luchian; place and date not given: "I Believe I am Still a Free Man"]

[Text] [Luchian] You, Mr. Ceontea, gave a resounding resignation. What are your reasons for this step?

[Ceontea] The press made my resignation resound. Resignation is a form of freedom. I believe that I am still a free man. The reasons for this resignation? There are many of them, but I will talk about them at another time—I may never talk about some of them. The readers of LIBERTATEA must be aware at least of one reason, however, the one that concerns dignity.

[Luchian] What are the actual motives of your decision?

[Ceontea] As I mentioned in the communique given to ROMPRES—which unfortunately was broadcast in an abbreviated form—I thought of the National Salvation Front's [FSN] actions of seizing the Vatra Romaneasca Union [UVR]. In spite of the decision of the operational meeting of the UVR, Messrs. Silviu Petru Olariu, Ioan Sabau, Vasile Tira (on behalf of the National Steering Committee), Gheorghe Rosca, Adrian Moisiu, and Stefan Chirila (on behalf of Tirgu Mures County branch) held a secret and unauthorized meeting in Tirgu Mures on 23 February. The meeting was held within the framework of the proceedings of the FSN's Transylvanian Consultative Convention. Because I was convinced that the aforementioned gentlemen would not have the dignity to part with the leading positions that they hold within "Vatra Romaneasca" (according to the decision on how to proceed in case of nonobservance of the adopted decision), I decided to resign as UVR president.

[Luchian] Can the FSN be considered the moral author of the "schism"?

[Ceontea] The FSN has various political nuances. I cannot pass a judgment about such a large group that seems to be so heterogeneous. As far as the FSN's Mures branch is concerned, this has been and continues to be our adversary.

[Luchian] Do you believe that your decision will affect "Vatra's" prestige and activity?

[Ceontea] Had I suspected for a single moment that the activity of the organization will be affected—in the negative sense of the word—I would have refrained from such a decision. I am convinced, however, that Vatra's activity will alter and will be revived and—why not—will adapt more rigorously to the specific aspects of the social life in Romania the way it appears to be today, and not the way it was a year ago.

[Luchian] Can one talk about a split within the UVR?

[Ceontea] Yes. The two-headed trend that appeared, developed, and reached an intolerable point, created a subsurface split with two types of political influence. At the time when I was talking about the jovial militiamen the following joke was circulating: "Why does the pavement soften when a militiaman walks on it? Because the intelligent one gives in." Maybe I believed that I was the pavement.

[Luchian] Will you continue to be active within UVR?

[Ceontea] Certainly, but in another way.

FSN Seen Comparable to Former Communist Party

AU0503132691 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 28 Feb 91 pp 1, 2

[Romulus Brancoveanu article: "A Party of Vice Presidents]

[Text] The National Salvation Front [FSN] keeps postponing its national convention, during which, according to the statements of its members, the party's political line and organizational structure should be clarified. Meanwhile, speculation is increasing about the existence of certain factions within the leadership (thus, within the FSN as well) and about a confrontation between the so-called "liberal" and "communist" wings. The only reasonable conclusion that can be drawn is that after comparing itself with the "Solidaritatea" and the "Civic Forum" associations, the Front continues to present itself as a "revolutionary emanation," an expression that, through its artificial, character belongs to the same category as "the party—the vital core of the nation" [an expression used by Ceausescu for the Romanian Communist Party (PCR)].

Is the FSN constantly postponing the clarification of its status a calculated act or is the act of making this lack of status permanent an expression of the political essence of this formation?

There are enough arguments that one could come up with in support of the existence of a political calculation: by publicly accepting the status of a party (I can bet that when it changes its current name, the members will choose one that excludes the word "party"), the Front would loose its "revolutionary capital" and would not run in the election as a "formation representing the interests of the whole nation" and so on and so forth. One can readily see that such a calculation is nothing but a ugly strategy, with no other significance than its wish to continue to manipulate public opinion.

Maybe the national conference will happen eventually. Will this conference turn the FSN into a party with the classic features of social democracy? The answer is almost certainly no. This is why:

We have noticed that on the political plane, the FSN has recuperated its state apparatus and the second echelon of the PCR. Neither the state apparatus (permit us to mention it as part of the PCR, as it was indeed) nor the second echelon held a directly political function within the PCR but rather a technical one, representing the technocrat and administrative basis of communist power. Within the party this category of servile, disciplined, and flattering technician-activists, ideologists, and administrators has always dreamt about getting to the top. The communist reformism everywhere meant to bring into the area of political decisionmaking "intellectuals of the party," who carry out orders without a word and would have continued carrying them out if the given circumstances had not granted them the opportunity to glimpse at the pinnacles of power. The myths of "clever people" kept in the shadow and of "true intellectuals in the party" favored the second echelon that is desperately—or better said arrogantly—clinging to this myth to survive.

In a recent interview Minister V. Secares, former head of the president's political analysis section and a professor at the Stefan Gheorghiu Institute [a former communist institute of political studies] tells us about how he became aware of the crisis of the communist system, mostly through political studies in American institutes, how he talked about this crisis to his students (that is to activists) making them aware of certain facts, and how he carried out intensive explanatory work throughout the country through conferences and meetings with "intellectuals and managerial cadres" (one wonders who these "cadres" were) outlining for them the "prospects of transformation." Likewise, together with his friends, he took over the leadership (as we all know in communism the leadership was always "taken over") of the Association of International Law. The peremptory discussions held within this association made some listeners get up and leave the hall.

Sometimes directly and sometimes in a roundabout way, Mr. Secares suggests that while others (dissidents) were protesting in an irresponsible and nonconstructive way against the communist system, he and his friends were carrying out responsible analyses, looking for the "viable alternative" even back in those days.

The revolution facilitated access to power for these groups of communist technicians, administrators, and ideologues! The PCR's second echelon, which included technicians of communist ideology and economics, is not interested at all in forming a strong party, as they would have us believe. Such a party, willingly or unwillingly, would double the system of political decisions, which the current leaders can ensure simply, directly, and without problems by occupying state functions. The nomenklatura, however, needs an "emanation"—that is, a political formation that serves as a cover and nothing else. The FSN supporters can continue to gather around the portraits of Mr. Iliescu and Mr. Roman and can discuss "the country's problems" endlessly, because certainly nobody will take any notice of them.

The FSN will continue to stay a party of vice presidents who do not have and will never have the power to interfere in the affairs of their superiors.

Opposition Newspapers Accused of Slander Campaign

AU0403195991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1931 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/3/1991—Some publications have intensified these last few days a genuine campaign of denigrating and slandering the president of Romania, a campaign that culminated with the article "Whom Did We Elect on May 20?" published in ROMANIA LIBERA of March 1, 1991, as well as the articles published in the March 2 issue of daily DREPTATEA, the organ of the National Peasant Party, reads a release from the Press Department of Romania's president.

The starting of such a campaign after the May 20 elections, the continued and unlimited use of calumny and insult, the disregard for the electoral option, account for lack of responsibility for the journalist's profession, for the role of the press in a democratic society, an attack on the democracy won by the Romanian people with so many sacrifices, by turning the inalienable right to freedom of opinion and expression into freedom to calumniate and insult at will persons and institutions, the release reads.

In the state of law, the press and its professionals have an important role in guiding public opinion, in moulding the civic spirit and the traditional values of democracy. It means responsibility to check the truth of what is published. It is deplorable that the above-mentioned publications, and other ones of the same kind, deny in practice the principles which they so noisily affirm with regard to the observance of the truth, democracy and values characteristic of the modern society, the release mentions.

When such articles attacked his person, the president did not consider them worth heeding or answering. But such absurd speculations like those in ROMANIA LIBERA, according to which Romania's president and prime minister are mere tools in the hands of the former Securitate account for calumny and insult that touch not only the dignity of the persons who hold these offices for

the term granted by the electorate, but also the respective institutions. It is a direct and open attack on the democratic system in Romania and on the national institutions, an attempt to justify the questioning of the May 20 election returns, the release reads.

By virtue of his duty to see to the observance of democracy and of the national interests, Romania's president warns that the moral and legal responsibility for such acts of calumny and for their consequences shall be borne not only by the journalist who signs them but equally by the respective editorial boards and by the editor, the release concludes.

'Baleful Role' of Television Criticized

AU0503093791 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 27 Feb 91 p 3

[Serban Sandulescu article: "Television Supporting a New Dictatorship—Mr. Razvan Theodorescu's Servility"]

[Excerpt] For over a year now, since our paper was re-issued, we have never stopped exposing the baleful role played by television. This is a role that—after being the main weapon of communist propaganda during the dictatorship and of the cult of an abject gallery of pseudo-intellectuals, impostors, traitors of the nation and hangmen of its sons, who proclaimed themselves as "personalities" and "scientists"—continues to practice the same detestable servility toward the neocommunist regime that is in power in our country, by doing everything in its power to facilitate the accreditation of this regime's legitimacy—which is false—and its access to a new dictatorship.

The most recent example in this sense is the "Current Events" program of 23 February, which opened with reports about the county conventions of the National Salvation Front [FSN] and clips of the Tirgu Mures meeting, which was attended by Petre Roman.

It was just like during the congresses of the Romanian Communist Party—the only difference being that, instead of the odious dictatorial couple, the television now tries to promote other "leaders."

The "Current Events" program should mainly be devoted to news of interest to our nation and the state, which should no longer be viewed as one and same thing as the leadership. It should present economic, cultural, and social news on which the fate of each of us depends who are confronted every single day and to an increasing extent with shortages of basic necessities in stores, inflation, unemployment and so forth. We are equally interested in foreign news, particularly when events occur that might have an impact on our situation as well as other things.

News about the convention or congress of a particular party, and the FSN is a party like any other even if it is in power at the moment, might be reported on television—and it is normal to report them—in the latter part of "Current Events" and not as top news. For this reason—along with many other reasons, even the more serious ones—very many people have come to the conclusion that the FSN equals the Romanian Communist Party. Television and the manipulations of those in power are responsible for this idea gaining currency, which they probably do not like.

What happened on Saturday evening during the "Current Events" program entitles us to draw attention to two absolutely obvious conclusions.

The first is that the cleaning up of the "Current Events" program was purely cosmetic, the aim being merely to fool the viewers. The main characteristic of this section is the same servile attitude to those in power and pro-totalitarian.

The second conclusion is that the cancellation of the "Viewpoints" program was done for purely political reasons—namely, to deal a blow to opposition parties because the first item on "Current Events" is at the immediate disposal of the FSN. [passage omitted]

PNT-cd Urges Farmers To Apply Land Law Justly

AU0503080191 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 27 Feb 91 p 1

["Appeal of PNT-cd to Farmers in Connection with the Land Law"; place and date not given]

[Text] Farmers of Romania!

The Land Law adopted by the current parliament has come into force.

Although we, the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd], view the current Parliament as nonrepresentative, our parliamentarians—bearing in mind our country's needs and the fact that agriculture has to be pulled out of the kolkhoz-type swamp as soon as possible to ensure the minimum amount of food needed by our people—have contributed to drafting this law. The amendments to the Land Law made by the PNT-cd parliamentarians, to which representatives of other opposition formations also contributed, as did even some deputies of the National Salvation Front [FSN], are of great benefit for the farmers.

In fact, everybody knows that the law on returning lands to the farmers was passed against FSN desire and only thanks to the PNT-cd, which included the dismantling of collective farms and the return of lands to the farmers provided for in its basic program as early as 22 December 1989. Our party has always struggled to ensure that farmers are free and the owners of their lands. Noting that at one point farmers adopted the PNT-cd program and began to dismantle agricultural production cooperatives by themselves, the regime could not do anything but accept that the law provided for a form to return lands to the farmers. Unfortunately, due to the communist mentality of preserving, by any means, some of the forms of agricultural production cooperatives, the

FSN representatives, who dominate the Parliament today, adopted the law with numerous shortcomings, vague things, and errors.

One thing that has not been solved by this law, which will be borne in mind by the PNT-cd in the future, is the return of lands that were taken from farmers by force and integrated into state agricultural enterprises. Once again it is obvious that, although it says that it is for privatization, the FSN actually hampers this natural process and prolongs a revolting injustice. It also refuses to grant lands to other farmers from the lands of the state agricultural enterprises. The situation of orchards and vineyards is still very intricate.

This law has also left many other problems of agriculture unsolved: Working means have not been ensured; equipment is in short supply; the relationship between agricultural machinery stations and farmers are not clarified; no credits are granted; the situation of agrarian engineers and specialized personnel has not been solved, nor have the pensions of farmers.

Although, at the initiative of the PNT-cd deputies, a small forest area has been obtained for the farmers and some parts of the lands of churches and monasteries have been returned, what has been achieved is not enough and justice has to be done in the future.

Following the tradition instituted by Ion Mihalache, the PNT-cd will work to solve these problems and to correct and complete the land law. We will continue to struggle so all rights of the farmers will be made up for, despite the fact that the FSN is trying to keep agricultural production under control on the basis of absurd and abusive provisions.

The commissions that will apply the law on the spot are playing a great role. Being headed by mayors and prefects appointed by the current regime, however, the line dictated by the FSN will be applied. The farmers should certainly not accept being abused once again; therefore, do all that is needed to prevent being cheated and treated unjustly by the current regime.

Bearing in mind our current situation and the fact that the Land Law—be it good or bad—has been adopted, the PNT-cd leadership emphatically appeals to you, the farmers, to apply this law correctly with the decision to take possession of your lands, without problems or quarrels.

Now that the Lord has helped us to get back part of our lands that were taken by force, let us be honest and let us try to avoid, as much as humanly possible, greed, injustice against our brethren or fellow men, and the violation of former boundaries between lands.

May the Lord help us!

PNT-cd leadership

'Party of Private Enterprisers' Established

AU0403165891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1639 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/3/1991—A release sent to the ROMPRES announces the foundation in Bucharest of the Party of Private Enterprisers of Romania, presided over by Alexandru Constantinovici. According to the same release, it addresses itself "to all those who really and immediately want a change, want clear solutions to be found, completely new, for a way out of the present economic and political chaos."

The new party plans to work for the triggering off of the process of federation of the political forces, for uniting them, while respecting their identity, upon the principle "We want to build, not to destroy." We want to build a political movement of particularly wide scope by its social base and generous platform, that should offer a solid alternative to the country's rulers, the release stresses. We repeat it, this alternative does not mean negation. It means dialogue. But a constructive, profound dialogue that should offer solutions.

Court Annuls 1987 Sentences in Brasov Trial

AU0403165691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1619 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/3/1991—The Supreme Court of Justice tried on March 4 with a jury of seven, headed by the president of the Supreme Court, Teofil Pop, the extraordinary appeal stated by Romania's prosecutor-general against the decisions whereby 61 Brasov workers had been sentenced in connection with the November 15, 1987 events.

The court sustained the appeal and annulled the penal sentence of December 3, 1987 of the Brasov Court of Law and the penal decision of February 23, 1990 of the Supreme Court of Justice, the Penal Department, referring to the legal terming of the deed as offence against good manners and upsetting public order, stipulated in Article 321, Paragraph 2, of the Penal Code, and the reparation for the damage. Also, it decided to change the juridical terming to propaganda against the socialist system, stipulated in Article 166, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code.

The court also decided acquittal of the defendants for the offence of propaganda against the socialist system, as discharged under the Decree-Law No. 12 of January 10, 1990, and annulled the sentence mention to the reparation for damage. [sentence as received]

After reading out the decision, the president of the Supreme Court of Justice highlighted the significance of the solution endorsed, pointing out that it meant not only an act of mending a sentence that was not correct in point of juridical terming, but also an act of moral justice, as the 61 defendants were given the statute of political convicts. Their deeds were among the most daring and firmest acts of protest against the dictatorial

regime, against injustice and arbitrariness committed in the almost 50 years of communist rule in Romania.

RMDSZ Spokesman on Curtailing of TV Programs

AU0403164991 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 27 Feb 91 p 2

["Sz.Cs."-signed interview with Odon Bitay, spokesman of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania on the telephone from Bucharest; date not given: "Power Struggle in Vatra"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] Upon the request of the local branch of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ], bells started chiming in Tirgu Mures, not on Monday [25 February], but a week ago. The church bells mourn the loss of Hungarian-language television programs in Romania.

[NEPSZAVA] The chiming of bells can only be a symbolic gesture. Can the RMDSZ, the second largest parliamentary party in Romania, take any concrete measures at the moment?

[Bitay] The chiming may sound symbolic from afar, but it means more in Transylvania: It represents solidarity, the fact that we belong together. Incidentally, on Monday [25 February], Romanian television functioned like clockwork and only allowed 75 minutes of Hungarian-language programs, compared to the three hours we had before. You know, if this country stuck to all its promises with such exactness, the Hungarian population would not be in a bad position at all.

[NEPSZAVA] The Romanian Parliament is discussing a constitutional change that might lead to the exclusion from Parliament of the RMDSZ. How well advanced are these negotiations?

[Bitay] On Wednesday [27 February], Parliament will discuss this issue—the so-called basic principles—for the third time, and it will probably vote on the same day. We do not want to make a hasty judgment on a debate that has been very vague until now. I simply cannot believe that the RMDSZ could be chased out of Parliament. Now that they have announced that Romania is a constitutional state, they would not dare to throw us out!

[NEPSZAVA] Are we right in believing that the extremist organization, Vatra Romaneasca, initiated a covert anti-Hungarian campaign in Tirgu Mures at the end of last week?

[Bitay] We have been able to observe certain inner tensions within Vatra. Nonetheless, we were somewhat surprised at the resignation of Radu Ceontea, chairman of Vatra Romaneasca. According to our background information, there are power struggles within Vatra Romaneasca's leadership. That is definitely bad for Hungarians, because the clash is between extremist and even more extremist elements. If possible, Vatra has become even more unpredictable and dangerous than before. As soon as there is any political tension in Romania—like the recent tension surrounding the strike movement—Vatra tries to use it against us. I am sorry to say that in this area, they often find support among government members. The only weapon that can be used against Vatra Romaneasca these days is patience. You know, history taught us to be afraid, but we have never been scared We will not be scared now, either!

RMDSZ Official on Party Role, Other Relations

AU0503102691 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 1 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with Geza Szocs, general secretary of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania, by Gabor Varga; place and date not given: "The RMDSZ Will Receive Observer Status in the European Democratic Union"]

[Excerpts] [Varga] Let us start with a general question: As general secretary of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ], how do you view the association's position in Romania?

[Szocs] I think that, compared to Romanians, we are in a very dvantageous situation in this country. There is an economic and political crisis in Romania, but there is also a kind of moral crisis: Indeed, to this very day, there are no clearly defined aims in Romanian society. On the other hand, every Hungarian who lives here knows precisely where his or her place is in this structure. Hungarians know exactly what their aims are. In other words, Hungarians in Transylvania have goals and a sense of purpose. Well, at the moment, those elements are lacking in Romanian society. From that point of view, we are in an even better position than Hungarians in Hungary, because we do not waste energy on the inner confrontations and uncertainties that always mark the kind of interim period that Eastern Europe and the Soviet empire are going through at the moment. As a result—and I am now coming back to the RMDSZ—it is no coincidence that our association is the only stable political organization in the area between Kosovo and Vladivostok. From the outside, this area really looks amazingly unified, but we know how internally divided it is. At the moment, there are two prejudices against the RMDSZ. The first prejudice is Romanian—namely, that Hungarians in Romania are amazingly and dangerously coordinated, resolute, and disciplined, and that they have a well-thought-out strategy; Paul Everac published an article in ROMANUL four or five weeks ago, which perfectly illustrates this point. Second, there is the prejudice voiced by Hungarians in Transylvania, according to which the RMDSZ is a crumbling, powerless, mammoth organization, incapable of uniting various interest groups—an altogether hopeless case. Well, I would say that both prejudices are wrong. The RMDSZ has undertaken a task that has no precedent, a task that can be seen as an oddity in political history—namely, to represent the interests of an entire micro-society—and it has succeeded in carrying out this impossible task. Naturally, the RMDSZ did this within its own limits. Indeed, you

cannot satisfy everybody, you cannot represent both the farmer in Odorhei, the proletarian in Timisoara, the Hungarian student in Bucharest, and the businessman in Oradea. Individual interests greatly differ, yet the RMDSZ succeeded in finding a common ground among these individual interests. [passage omitted]

[Varga] What foreign relations does the RMDSZ have? [passage omitted]

[Szocs] So far, the RMDSZ has received its greatest recognition from the European Democratic Union [EDU]. Indeed, the RMDSZ is the only Romanian political party to whom the EDU intends to give observer status in the near future. [passage omitted]

* Generals on Current Status, Aims of CADA

91BA0330A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 15 Feb 91 p 3

[Serban Popa article: "Sequel to a Post Scriptum—Is CADA (Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army) a State of Mind or a (Semi-) Secret Organization?"]

[Text] The post scriptum inserted after the last communique published under CADA's signature in ROMANIA LIBERA No. 32 of 31 January may mean that views stemming from the Armed Forces may cease to appear under that signature, although it was the dissemination of such views that for almost one year encouraged us to hope that the process of democratization of the Army will continue.

To ascertain to what extent the post scriptum was justified we conducted a brief study of the causes that generated it.

Thus, we asked Lieutenant Colonel Silviu Popescu and Lieutenant Colonel Ioan Barbuta—both known as active CADA members—to answer four questions that we considered significant from the viewpoint of establishing a bridgehead in that "no man's land" [last three words in English] of contradictory communiques. These were the questions:

1. Is CADA a structured organization or (since it is made up mostly of Romanian Army officers) is it rather what we may call a gentlemen's agreement [last two words in English]?

2. Can one talk of dissidence within CADA, or is it a downright break?

3. What, in your opinion, are the "good deeds" and the "bad deeds" of former National Defense Minister General Militaru?

4. What are those of General Stanculescu, the current minister?

We allowed ourselves to undertake this study in the hope of finding out a perhaps-not-sufficiently emphasized truth and halting the process of erosion, if indeed such a process is occurring. We are positive that the persons involved share our hope.

We are anyway convinced that the Romanian Army officers know that people always serve ideas, not the other way round.

Lt. Col. Ioan Barbuta

1. In fact, in the beginning CADA did not want to be established as an organized structure because we realized that we were dealing with a phenomenon that is abnormal for a military institution. Of course, it emerged because of a whole series of dysfunctions caused by abuses committed by some commanding officers both before, during, and after the Revolution. We did not think it was a good idea to form an organization with a structure paralleling the military structure, so it would not be viewed as a pressure group or as an appendix that could be taken out. Thus, from the beginning, our goal was to act within the military structures and in compliance with the provisions of military regulations.

Consequently, CADA was and is a state of mind, not an organized structure. It has no leader, ideology, or spokesman. CADA's communiques—because they are the topic at hand—were drafted by several cadres, then circulated and amended, and once a unanimously acceptable formula was reached, they were sent to the press. So it cannot be claimed that a stable or rigid core existed or exists now. The only cadres mentioned by name are those listed in order M-16, who were selected to represent their units at last year's talks with the prime minister in February.

Lieutenant Colonel Octavian Chiriac and Lieutenant Colonel Cornel Surcu, who at the time were members of the governmental commission for Timisoara, ensured the liaison with decisionmakers at the ministry. That was decided because they were in a position to travel and to go to the government and the ministry. Others were with them—as a rule, whoever was free on the given dates, on leave or after duty, or had business at the ministry.

2. In view of the above, I think that it is impossible to speak of dissidence, real or imaginary. Certainly nothing that can contribute to a positive situation. Naturally, differences of opinions existed and continue to exist among CADA members. That is, if you like, the risk we consciously assumed by deciding not to establish a well structured organization. The advantage of our choice is, however, that we are thus better able to follow the spirit, rather than the letter of our initial declarations.

3. On 6 January at the General Staff, in the presence of Ion Iliescu, then chairman of the NSFC [National Salvation Front Council] and of Virgil Magureanu the corps of cadres requested that the generals and high-ranking officers reactivated after 22 December be retired to the reserves and that the avalanche of exceptional promotions be stopped. At the time no one had any preconceived idea that Gen. Militaru was bad. However, when the latter showed himself unreceptive and even signed orders for the arrest of the officers of Timisoara, we appealed to the prime minister to replace him. Only then did we begin to get information about Gen. Militaru. That is why we can say that first we can criticize the

NSFC leadership for violating the principle of command succession, and only then can we criticize the former defense minister for the series of abuses he committed and for the fact that the cadres he brought in to manage the ministry were incompetent and committed abuses.

4. As for Gen. Stanculescu, it must be pointed out that CADA did not request that he be appointed minister. He was appointed by NSFC Chairman Ion Iliescu according to criteria that we did not perceive at the time. We requested the appointment of a civilian to ensure that army generals could not be accused of being behind our movement and that no one was made the scapegoat.

Whatever the case, a few facts are undeniable. Gen. Stanculescu agreed to talk with the young officers. He listened to their proposals. He issued order OC I (for establishing commissions to investigate the activities of Army cadres), which was drafted with the participation of CADA members.

He dismantled the Directorate for Political Education of the Army. At CADA's suggestion he established the Counterintelligence Directorate. He accepted and disseminated among the units the order to establish Military Associations as it was hammered out by CADA members. He encouraged the campaign to depoliticize the Army, being the first, and so far the only general who publicly repudiated his RCP [Romanian Communist Party] membership. He recently retired another batch of generals who had been reactivated in December 1989.

Of what can Gen. Stanculescu be accused? First of all of not having acted resolutely enough to implement CADA's principles, to which he actually subscribed. In fact, everything that was started was left unfinished, mostly because of his hesitations and reservations.

Secondly, he agreed to retire certain CADA members at the suggestion of unit commanders, without verifying the truth of the accusations leveled at them. It is true that the retirement decisions were taken in the Higher Military Council (which is populated by generals opposed to CADA ideas) with a majority of votes, but as commander of the Army that detail does not absolve him of responsibility for the final decision.

Lt. Col. Silviu Popescu

1. The strength of this movement resides in the fact that no one knows its structure, modus operandi, or the number of its members and supporters.

Only the members of the Steering Committee are known. They are Lt. Col. Petre Litiu, Lt. Col. Silviu Popescu, Lt. Col. Ioan Barbuta, Lt. Col. Octavian Chiriac, Lt. Col. Cornel Surcu, Lt. Col. Constantin Grecu, Engineer Major Nicolae Cirligeanu, Engineer Major Ioan Inel, Major Viorel Tocan, Major Constantin Chiticaru, Attorney Captain Valerian Stan, and Captain Doina Dinca. Each one of them has his own network that is kept secret for reasons of security.

As for the approximately 70 officers named in the order M-16 (which guaranteed protection for the cadres who attended the 14 February 1990 meeting with the prime minister—ed. note), the Steering Committee stays in touch with them through the above-mentioned network.

The Steering Committee members who were retired were Lt. Col. Litiu, Lt. Col. Popescu, Lt. Col. Grecu, Maj. Tocan, Maj. Chiticaru, Capt. Stan, and Capt. Dinca. Currently I can say that I speak on their behalf.

2. No. We are dealing with one, two, maximum three persons from the Executive Committee whose viewpoints differ from the majority. I am referring to the fact that they fully support the action of the National Defense Minister Gen. Stanculescu.

3. When CADA was established we didn't have any information about Gen. Militaru; as for the allegations of [words illegible] Miulescu concerning files Corbu I and Corbu II, I had some reservations.

I know that Gen. Militaru stayed aloof of counterinformers and the members of the Higher Political Council. Anyway, he must know better what he did or didn't do, whether he was KGB or not. What is certain is that he did try to go against Ceausescu and that the other generals did not support him.

In point of fact, Gen. Militaru has the cleanest hands among all the high-ranking officers because he did not participate in the suppression of the demonstrators. After the revolution, as minister of national defense, he released the files of those responsible for the trial, including Gen. Stanculescu's file. Moreover, he dismantled the Securitate, which the same Gen. Stanculescu restored.

On the other hand, Gen. Militaru is an outstanding military man. He has a doctorate in military science.

As for mistakes, I can say he made two. First, he did not explain to the Army why he brought back from retirement a lot of generals and high-ranking officers and put them in decisionmaking positions. More than 70. The reason, as we all know now, was that he didn't trust the old Army leadership who supported Ceausescu until the last moment, a leadership any time capable of staging a military coup. So I think it was necessary that the reactivated generals should stay at the head of the army for a short period of time. But certainly not so many of them. The fact that the situation showed signs of becoming permanent created great dissatisfaction.

Gen. Militaru's second mistake was that he didn't filter through the list of exceptional promotions, and many made it to the list thanks to connections and relations.

4. As is known, in February last year a group of officers came from Timisoara to request that the truth be revealed about the events there. Seeing that they could not obtain that, they joined us (I am referring to GIDA—the Group of Initiative for the Democratization of the Army that operated in Bucharest as of 17 December).

I can state that they were the ones who accepted the compromise of having Gen. Stanculescu appointed minister. Initially a civilian minister was asked, unaware that the Front was planning to appoint Gelu Voican Voiculescu or Virgil Magureanu. One CADA member—I can't recall his name—was a relative of Voiculescu's. At the first meeting Voican slipped a note to Lt. Col. Litiu under the table in which he asked that Gen. Stanculescu be "cleaned up" [ameliorat], probably in view of his nomination as minister of national defense. I personally did not agree and I believe that Prime Minister Roman made a serious mistake in that respect. Gen. Stanculescu did not want and does not want to democratize the Army. He is incapable of such a thing. I believe that Gen. Stanculescu is playing a double game.

By distributing ranks, jobs, and money he has secured a support network for himself, because he knows that he bears a great responsibility for what happened in Timisoara.

He is also responsible for the fact that nothing was done to find out the truth. Which is only normal because he was Elena Ceausescu's man, dispatched to keep an eye on Coman.

Gen. Stanculescu was also responsible—and he admitted as much in an interview—for ordering Generals Cheller and Polivanoff to issue threats of shooting in Alba Iulia and Bucharest on 1 December. In addition, he censored the military press and led a press campaign against CADA members.

But above everything else, he threw the entire hierarchy into disarray through irregular promotions. He bought Timisoara with ranks and now Timisoara is silent.

Government Statement on National Minimum Base Pay

AU0403163291 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Feb 91 p 1

[Government statement issued in Bucharest on 25 February]

[Text] The Romanian Government has decided:

Article 1.—(1) National minimum gross base pay is set at 3,150 lei a month—that is, for a complete work schedule totaling a monthly average of 170 hours, thus representing 18.55 lei/hour.

(2) If, in accordance with the law, the work program is less than eight hours per day, the minimum gross base pay is calculated on the basis of the countrywide minimum base pay stipulated under Item 1 and in accordance with the average number of hours worked in keeping with the legal work schedule in force.

(3) Corporate bodies and physical persons employing full-time and part-time personnel should not negotiate or set the base pay in the individual labor contract below the minimum gross base pay established countrywide.

Bucharest, 25 February 1991
No. 133

Iliescu Promulgates Law on Trade Ties With EEC

AU0403200191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1932 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/3/1991—Romania's President promulgated on March 4, 1991 the law on ratifying the accord between Romania, on the one hand, and the European Economic Community and the Atomic Energy European Community, on the other hand, regarding commerce and economic and commercial cooperation.

This agreement, concluded in Luxembourg on October 22, 1990 provides congenial conditions for the development and diversification of the exchanges between Romania and the European Economic Community, as well as for the promotion of commercial and economic cooperation in domains of mutual interest, base on equality, mutual advantages and reciprocity.

Dijmarescu Statement on Return From U.S.

AU0403165991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1551 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/3/1991—In a statement made on his arrival from the United States, where he had participated in the White House conference on economic reform in Eastern Europe, Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state in charge of economic guidance, said inter alia:

"During our discussions with the American authorities in Washington we examined problems of mutual interest, regarding both bilateral relations and multilateral actions. The important fact is that the American side manifested a special receptivity to and interest in the democratisation of the political, economic and social life in Romania.

We took note of the United States' willingness to offer us technical assistance in various fields, for the fastest possible implementation of the market economy mechanisms included. There is a definite perspective to attract American capital to Romania, and the negotiations that are now going on with American firms stand to prove that.

The American authorities' wish to cooperate with us is apparent. Also remarkable is the interest of the American Corporation for Foreign Investments' Management to know the projects Romania means to develop on the basis of direct American investments, taking upon itself to advertise among the American companies.

Markovic Rules Out Civil War Possibility

AU0403215491 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Ante Markovic by Otto Hoermann in Belgrade on 4 March—recorded; Markovic's statements in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Hoermann] Mr. Prime Minister, in Yugoslavia one is sometimes confronted with the criticism that people abroad are expecting a civil war. As a result of recent developments it is difficult for other countries not to take the situation very seriously. What is your view on this?

[Markovic] What is currently happening are the secondary consequences of a positive process. The Federal Government, while controlling this process, is doing everything it can to prevent undemocratic developments. What is currently happening, including all new developments and events, has confirmed our determination to seek civilized and democratic solutions, which make the further development of the system possible. I think that one must understand the fear of a possible civil war. At the same time, however, the various republics are interconnected through a great number of relations and interests, and all the efforts that are currently being made rule out the possibility of a civil war.

[Hoermann] Austrian foreign policy is facing a certain problem regarding Yugoslavia. There are relations to the central government in Belgrade, while at the same time one tries to maintain relations with Ljubljana and Zagreb. What is your view of this dilemma of Austrian foreign policy?

[Markovic] Austria has official relations with Yugoslavia, and only Yugoslavia is an entity under international law. That is to say, no country, including Austria, can have official relations with any other entity but the whole of Yugoslavia.

* Drnovsek on Separation, Inter-Republic Relations

91P20239A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 Feb 91 p 3

[Unattributed article detailing statements made by Dr. Janez Drnovsek at the Slovenian Assembly; date not given: "The Key Issues Are More and More Unsettled"]

[Text] Dr. Janez Drnovsek, member of the SFRY Presidency from Slovenia, said at the joint Slovenian Assembly session that his work in the Federal Presidency since last May has been evolving under special circumstances. He attempted to respond to several questions regarding his work in the Presidency of the Yugoslav state. Among other things, he said:

"It is evident that the long-term crisis, which during the past 10 years has prevented the political leadership from satisfying political needs and carrying out economic changes, has seriously weakened relations among the Yugoslav peoples. Mutual distrust has increased. The individual Yugoslav republics are promoting their sovereignty more vociferously and it has become more and more clear that the state will have to be reorganized completely.

"The concept of a rapid integration into Europe has become real. It has become more and more clear that the Yugoslav peoples must achieve a new political steadfastness in international relations before they can be included in the establishment of the common European home. Yugoslavia has gone from being a top partner in European integration to being included in the group of states which are not prime candidates for acceptance in the European integration process.

"According to multilateral plebiscites in all our republics, it is evident that the antagonisms among our people are so great that they cannot be resolved in the framework of any existing institution of the Yugoslav state, and that it will be more and more difficult to carry out a unitary economic policy and to execute a unitary political and economic reform."

The Presidency Is Not Opposed to Self-Determination

"The Federal Presidency is certainly aware of the situation at all times and it is trying to find a solution. But it is very clear that the Presidency has representatives of different republics and provinces and, therefore, representatives of different interests. Therefore, the position of the Presidency often reflects the majority opinion and criticisms in the various parts of the country. The Federal Presidency has publicly stated that the existing constitutional arrangement does not provide a possible framework for resolving the current crisis situation, and that there must be a new agreement among the peoples or republics, respectively. However, there remains a distinction as to whether Yugoslav republics or peoples have a right to self-determination. In the case of Slovenia, this distinction does not add anything, but it is of great importance in the resolution of relations between Serbia and Croatia, in particular. For the time being it is not yet clear how these relations will be resolved.

"In the opinion of the Presidency, all possible options for the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis can legitimately be considered, including the federal and confederal options or the option of perfectly replicated separate republics. It is evident that the confederal option requires, first of all, the resolution of the issue as to whether a people or a republic has a right to self-determination. In particular, this strengthens Serbia, which is demanding the revision of boundaries in the case of the reestablishment of sovereign republic states. Croatia remains in favor of the confederal concept and the unchanging character of republic boundaries. Montenegro supports the Serbian position. Bosnia and Hercegovina and Macedonia want to retain some form of the Yugoslav state which would

serve as a foundation for the independence, sovereignty, and equal rights of the republics.

"In the discussions held so far in the Federal Presidency, the positions of the republics were presented quite clearly even though there were no real efforts to achieve a rapprochement of very different concepts. It is not entirely clear whether there is still a willingness to achieve a political resolution of the differences, or whether there will be a continuation of the current, very risky process of reciprocal pressure and threats, with the possibility of international conflicts which would bring us to new stages and relations, and which would then find political confirmation in agreements. If such a road continues to be taken, we cannot rule out the fact that incidents might develop into a wider encounter, with the possibility of civil war. The Kosovo issue is also completely open and unresolved, and the representative of Kosovo kept saying that this issue is now on the back burner in discussions among the republics."

What Will Be the Outcome?

"On the basis of the discussions, it would be a mistake to conclude that a decisive stage has been reached and that, in a short time, we expect an outcome and a negotiated political solution. The key issues are still open. It is a fact that the Slovene representatives have limited maneuvering space and that, on the basis of the results of plebiscites, we can discuss those variants which are based on the complete independence and sovereignty of the republic. Regarding this, the Slovene Assembly took some concrete steps which are leading to the invalidation of the federal legal system in the Republic of Slovenia. There are more and more collisions between the federal and republic systems, along with more and more conflicts and crises between the federation and the Republic of Slovenia.

"In the SFRY Presidency I recommended the moves of the Republic of Slovenia, proceeding from its sovereignty, since I think that we can get along somehow with the remaining parts of the country. The chaotic disintegration of the federal system is in the interest of no one, including Slovenia. The Republic of Slovenia must exit from the federal system on the basis of the appropriate agreements and the appropriate legal documents.

"If there is to be, in this regard, a document on dissolution, which the Slovene Assembly is now discussing, in my opinion, it should be directed both to the republic assemblies and to the SFRY Assembly. In such a document the initiative must be given to the establishment of special relations between the Republic of Slovenia and the remaining parts of the Yugoslav federation. With them, some future period will be formally initiated, in which the Republic of Slovenia and the remaining parts of the state would establish reciprocal relations and set forth clean states. During that period there would still be a federation and Slovenia would no longer be in conflict because the acts of the Republic of Slovenia are in accordance with the federal acts and they would be formally brought into accord. Of course, they would attempt to resolve all reciprocal problems and to reach an agreement on all reciprocal demarcations and on material, military, and all other questions, and to agree on the length of future periods and on the ways to resolve individual open questions."

Presenting Clean Slates

"Through its own activity, Slovenia would be able to accelerate the process of political negotiations among our republics. We must take advantage of suitable opportunities, but we must emphasize that there are not a lot of opportunities because of our economy, which is existing under conditions of extraordinary political and legal uncertainity. We must strive to establish a new political stability and legal order as rapidly as possible, since otherwise, the collapse of the economy will occur and there will be much more serious consequences for Slovene self-subjugation than would have been necessary.

"Relations with all the republics should be normalized. A way must be found to maintain all existing positive ties, which are based on real interests. After its own position is clarified, Slovenia will be able to play a conciliatory role in Yugoslav disputes and help to achieve political solutions in those situations which, although they are not directly dependent upon us, are of concern to all of us, so that, in this part of the world we will not have civil wars, we will not have terrorist attacks, and we will be able to develop peaceful and friendly relations.

"The demarcation agreed upon with the rest of Yugoslavia will represent the basis for the international recognition of Slovenia and for the normal operation of all relations, including financial relations, with the rest of the world. This would also be in accordance with the principles of the CSCE, which says that international boundaries can be changed peacefully and by agreement.

"Here, in the Assembly, the issue was raised of the circumstances of the approval and implementation of the decision on the disarming of paramilitary formations which the SFRY presidency approved on 9 January of this year. The argument for the decision was based on the estimates and information provided by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and the decision was prompted by illegal weapon possession in the country and by the formation of illegal semimilitary groups, especially in Croatia. The aim of the proposed decision would be to offer to drop charges against all those who, by the specified time, would freely surrender their weapons. I opposed the approval of this decision because it could lead to erroneous interpretations and to incorrect use. These fears proved to be justified. As we know, this led to intense tension between the Yugoslav People's Army and Croatia. But, with the agreement in the SFRY presidency on 25 January, at the last moment we prevented more serious consenquences and real conflict. By this decision, we proceeded to establish extraordinary

conditions for giving special powers to the Yugoslav Pepple's Army. But an explanation of this decision gave rise to other interpretations, to the effect that the Yugoslav People's Army might get powers which it did not have before.

"During the discussions at the session of the Presidency, I remarked that such interpretations constitute an attempt to introduce conditions through the side door, without the Presidency explicitly making a decision according to prescribed methods. I resolutely spoke out against this and I wrote a public letter to the president of the SFRY Presidency in which I opposed such interpretations and intentions."

Suppressing Conflicts

"In recent months, the SFRY Presidency often dealt with conflicts in relations between the Yugoslav People's Army and Slovenia. My position proceeded from the positions of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, since the Presidency, by majority vote, adopted the well-known decrees on the organization of territorial defense in Slovenia. These issues are more and more open in form and content. I propose that we conclude this matter in the framework of the formal procedure for the separation of the Republic of Slovenia from the federal system. During the coming period, of which I spoke, it will be necessary to discuss the terms and forms of the agreement for the resolution of all questions regarding the Yugoslav People's Army in Slovenia.

"It is very significant that the different forms of the continuing conflicts between Slovenia and the Yugoslav People's Army are ending and that we are trying to find mutually acceptable, livable solutions. I must say that in all the discussions held so far with the highest level representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army, we did not encounter any opposition to the fact that Slovenia would be executing its right to self-determination and emancipation. They just emphasized the need for the orderly, acceptable resolution of all open questions."

Federal Discussion on Foreign Policy Issues

LD0403213891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1851 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—A meeting was held in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs [FSFA] today between Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar and ministers of foreign affairs and heads of international cooperation departments from the republics and the province of Vojvodina.

Following the federal secretary's introductory report, a discussion took place about Yugoslavia's foreign political situation in light of the latest developments in Europe and the world. Particular attention was devoted to the efforts to coordinate the SFRY's foreign policy activities and to international cooperation of the republics and the province in the transitional period of negotiations between the top representatives of hte federation, the republics, and the province.

It was agreed that the priority task facing all those involved in the country's foreign policy activities is to secure international support for the economic reform and stabilization program, and that support by foreign partners and international financial institutions was of crucial importance for the fate of reforms in the country.

Agreement was also reached on the need, in line with the current constitutional order, to enhance the level of coordination in and mutual reporting about foreign policy activities of all entities that make up our complex community.

The FSFA was also supported in its efforts to rationalize and update the SFRY foreign affairs service.

Moreover, agreement was reached on the need to avoid one-sided and negative descriptions of the situation in other republics, or in our community as a whole, during visits abroad.

LC-MY Official on Secession of Some Republics

AU0303175591 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 91 p 6

[Dj. Berar report: "The Army Is Protecting the Borders As Well As the Constitutional System"]

[Excerpts] Zrenjanin, 17 Feb—Speaking at the promotion rally of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia [LC-MY] in front of several hundred citizens in the Zrenjanin Youth Hall today, retired Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, member of the Yugoslav Committee of the LC-MY, said the following:

"We are now virtually starting from nothing. Our party is now being joined by people of all generations, mostly middle aged and older people, but we will try to rally as many young people as possible. Socialism has not vanished as its enemies would like to think. It exists and it will continue to develop. It will become more modern, it will be in the spirit of our time. Therefore, I can say with satisfaction that the LC-MY is becoming stronger day by day. This is why I believe that in June we will be able to organize a congress of renewal." [passage omitted]

"All those who are now joining the LC are real communists. It is not easy to be a communist today. This does not refer to Serbia, because we cooperate well with the Socialist Party of Serbia. The situation in Croatia is completely different because the communists there are being persecuted, threatened, physically harassed, and dismissed from work. And as you know, this is done by members of the Croatian Democratic Community." [passage omitted]

Speaking about the possibility of some republics seceding from Yugoslavia, General Mirkovic was explicit:

"The right to self-determination cannot be carried out by force, because Yugoslavia has already existed 70 years as a country. If this is to happen at all, it should be done in accordance with the law, within a reasonable period of time, about five years." [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on Civil Unrest in Pakrac

'Calming Down;' Troops Reinforced

AU0403114491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Dusan Radulovic report]

[Text] The situation in Pakrac is calming down, but it is still far from what it was before special units stormed this town early Saturday morning.

There are no special units in the communal assembly building now. A commission of representatives of the local authorities, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and Croatian militia inspectors are there at the moment and are conducting a damage assessment. According to eye witnesses, there is real chaos inside, one can see evidence of people who did not pay much attention to what they would leave behind, things, including files, have been thrown about. There is also evidence of gunfire, broken glass, and everything else that goes with occupying a building by force.

There are no special units in the building. They are all in the militia station building, and the square in the center of Pakrac is protected by forces of the Yugoslav People's Army. Soldiers are everywhere and even more people are gathering here.

Schools are closed today, and so are many work collectives, although in its announcement issued yesterday, the Executive Council called on the workers to report to work. Many people failed to comply with this appeal and can be seen today in the streets and town center.

As we have learned unofficially, one more bus with Croatian special troops arrived in Pakrac during the night or early this morning. Just now, passing by the town police building, we saw two buses, several landrovers, and armored vehicles of Croatian special units.

Interior Secretariat Investigates Events

LD0403134591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—Regarding the different reports in the media on the number of casualties in Pakrac, which has provoked unrest among the public, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs has taken measures to determine the facts and has requested an official report from the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry [MUP], the Federal Executive Council Secretariat for Information announced.

According to a Croatian MUP report made available on 3 March on measures taken in Pakrac and surrounding villages, so far there have been no human casualties or injuries. At the same time it is said that one MUP member was seriously injured and two slightly injured on 2 March near the Pakrac police station. They were reportedly taken to Rebro Hospital in Zagreb and subsequent reports indicate their lives are not in danger.

Because of the exceptionally complex situation in this area, a Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs team led by Assistant Federal Secretary Jovan Vuckovic, who is working with Croatian MUP representatives on concrete measures to realize the conclusions of the 2 March SFRY Presidency session, is still in Pakrac.

Osijek Command Issues Denial

LD0403135991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1047 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Osijek, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—The Osijek Garrison Command today categorically denied that it had participated in any way whatsoever in activities to prevent the rally that was scheduled to take place in this town yesterday. Its denial is as follows:

"On 3 March 1991 a news conference was held at the Osijek police headquarters regarding the events in this town in the wake of citizens' attempt to stage a public gathering. According to the media, head of the police headquarters, Josip Reihl-Kir, said, among other things, that the police had maintained successful cooperation with the Osijek Garrison Command in planning, mutual communications, and taking measures in connection with the events his news conference focused on.

In light of such information it is being suggested the Osijek Garrison Command, together with the police headquarters, assumed an active role in preventing the citizens from staging a rally.

We categorically claim the Garrison Command did not participate in any way whatsoever in the plans for and the activities of preventing the rally. The Garrison Command maintains that this is a matter of presenting premeditated misinformation to the public, aiming to discredit the army and suggest its confrontation with the people.

We also note that the Garrison Command was neither told about the news conference nor did it take part in the preparation for it, and it certainly did not authorize anyone to talk on its behalf," the Osijek Garrison Command says in its denial.

Croation Officials Arrive for Talks

AU0403152491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Dusan Radulovic report]

[Text] There is excitement in Pakrac again, and the reason for this is the arrival of top Croatian and federal officials and the beginning of something that, in the absence of official information, one could call negotiations. Escorted by strong security, SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic, Croatian Police Chief Josip Boljkovac, and several other officials whose names and ranks we could not find out, because only Croatian Television journalists were allowed access, arrived in the Pakrac police station situated in the city center just after 1400. A strong force of special militiamen armed to the teeth did not allow other journalists, and there is quite a number of them here, to go into the building where the talks are supposed to be taking place.

We also saw a helicopter flying over the city center. There was also a rumor that Mesic, Boljkovac, and others will meet the representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Yugoslav People's Army in the army provisional headquarters situated in the local soccer field.

The arrival of Mesic, Boljkovac, and their special militiamen escort was the reason for a fierce protest by several hundred people, mainly Serbs, who have been in the park in front of the assembly building in the very center of Pakrac since this morning. Let us hear what this sounded like. [recording of shouting, booing].

This booing and the protest was the reason for the Croatian special militiamen to disperse the gathered crowd. They put on gas masks, threatening to use tear gas. A clash and intervention did not take place after all. A column of cars with the officials and the armored cars of the Croatian militia went to the other side of the town.

We were present when Mesic and Boljkovac arrived in the provisional army headquarters where they were, as one of the officers confirmed to us, met by Jovan Vuckovic, deputy federal secretary for internal affairs. We have unofficially learned that the talks will also be attended by members of the SFRY Presidency Bogic Bogicevic and Nenad Bucin. We have not been able to get an official confirmation whether these two have already arrived in Pakrac.

Nobody here is giving any official information and therefore we cannot tell you anything about the content of the talks. What is certain is that one will be able to judge the outcome of the talks by the movement of special militiamen and the Army. As we have learned, the special militiamen have again occupied the assembly building in the center of Pakrac. The center is controlled by army forces with three armored transporters.

The Army is also controlling all access roads around Pakrac. We saw their armored vehicles this morning when we visited some surrounding villages. There are also some army armored transporters in side streets.

People are still afraid. Schools and the majority of work organizations were closed today. There are no problems concerning food supply. People here believe that the denouement of the crisis depends on the recently started talks by top officials, Mesic, Bucin, Bogicevic, Boljkovac, and Vuckovic. To what extent their hopes are justified will be seen in a few hours.

We expect a news conference will be held in Pakrac in a couple of days, or at least some official statement on the denouement of the situation, which is still tense.

'Suspense' Reported; Mesic Visits

LD0403171791 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Seana Mudric report from Pakrac]

[Text] [Mudric] Even 20 hours after the withdrawal of a major part of Croatian Interior Ministry special units from Pakrac, citizens are still feeling anxiety and fear, as a result of recent events in Pakrac; in addition to the mutual mistrust there also exists suspense among small and at times large groups of people gathering in the town center. Although the day started relatively calmly and without incident, it passed in suspense. Weapons of illegal groups sheltering in the hills around Pakrac should have been surrendered to the police station in Pakrac, which today is being visited by representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. The police will not insist that those surrendering weapons reveal their names, but as of now there has been a delay in returning weapons.

In this atmosphere of suspense SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic and Croatian Interior Minister Josip Boljkovac arrived in Paktrac this afternoon. Having briefly visited the police station in Pakrac, they went on toward the town stadium to have talks with representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Federal Secretriat for Internal Affairs, which are still underway. The talks are being held behind closed doors. Army representaives did not allow journalists to attend the talks, and an official statement is expected following the talks.

Communal Assembly Statement on Talks

AU0403190991 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Statement read by Pakrac Communal Assembly President Milan Bozic in Pakrac on 4 March—recorded]

[Text] Pakrac was visited today by SFRY President Vice President Stipe Mesic; Nenad Bucin and Bogic Bogicevic, members of the SFRY Presidency; and Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin.

The talks were also attended by Croatian Internal Affairs Minister Josip Boljkovac; Pakrac Communal Assembly President Milan Bozic; and Petar Dzodan, deputy to the Croatian Assembly.

Other people that also took part in the talks were Lieutenant General (?Dobrasin Brascevic), head of the fifth military district command, and Jovan Vuckovic, deputy federal secretary for internal affairs, who has been in Pakrac since 3 March.

The meeting examined the realization of the SFRY Presidency conclusions concerning the normalization of the situation in Pakrac. It was assessed that some results in the realization of a part of the conclusions have been achieved and that it is necessary to withdraw all Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry forces to their base (?by) 0000 on 4 March.

Only the necessary number of the regular men should remain in Pakrac to conduct regular duties. It was decided that a (?complete) reorganization of the reserve militiamen of the station be carried out by the same deadline without (?consequences for mobilization). Active militiamen should be allowed to return to their regular duties in the station.

The meeting particularly stressed the need for all institutions in Pakrac to immediately start normal functioning so the life and work of the population could be normalized as soon as possible.

Raskovic Comments on Officials' Role

AU0403194391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Statement by Serbian Democratic Party President Jovan Raskovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] I think that the special militiamen should be withdrawn. This is the first thing. We will.... [Raskovic corrects himself]. This is first. Second, guarantees should be given that nobody will be arrested or prosecuted, especially not by the official Croatian authorities. If somebody needs to be prosecuted, we will prosecute them. These authorities should prosecute them, these authorities, your communal authorities, should prosecute those who have done something bad or wrong. Let them be prosecuted by the authorities here. Guarantees should be given that nobody will be prosecuted and arrested.

Mesic Says Situation 'Defused'

LD0403211191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1939 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic stated today, on his return from Pakrac, that the talks there were designed to acquaint the SFRY Presidency members, Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs, Petar Gracanin, and Croatian Minister of Internal Affairs Josip Boljkovac with the situation in the aftermath of certain measures taken in the town.

"At the meeting we came to a number of conclusions that we are going to submit to the Presidency," Mesic said.

Speaking on Croatian television this evening, Mesic stressed that "the main point is that the situation has been defused. There are no columns of refugees. True, there are people who, because of feelings of insecurity, fear and manipulation, have left their homes and are now staying with friends and relatives; but there are no columns of refugees. Public peace and order have been restored."

"We agreed that all the policemen must be reinstated and all those who, as part of a scenario to cause confusion and unrest, were disarmed by illegal groups should be reinstated in their jobs, that schools organize normal lessons, that firms return to normal work, and that services function again, because there is no reason whatsoever for anxiety," Mesic said.

"And in this connection an agreement was reached to withdraw a part of the Croatian Interior Ministry special units, leaving only the regular police force to remain there and to control public peace and order," Mesic added.

Asked about the current situation in connection with the return of stolen weapons, Mesic said that one of the conclusions arrived at this evening was to return all weapons. The weapons were not stolen, they were distributed to the reserve force, which was thus illegally armed. A decision on the armament of the reserve police force was not verified, and the person who made such a decision will most probably be held responsible as will all those who illegally took part in this and actually violated the law. But all of them must understand that in a law-governed state, nobody should be able to use weapons without expecting to be brought to account. Of course, those reservists who received drafts and weapons will not be brought to account. I have to say, however, those rumors about people fleeing their homes and even leaving the republic of Croatia—all this is a part of well thought-out propaganda aimed at the destabilization of Croatia. According to what I saw in Pakrac, Mesic said, the situation is returning to normal and there is no reason for anxiety.

According to Mesic, other SFRY Presidency members who visited Pakrac share the same opinion.

According to what was said, people have imaginary fears caused by nothing, because one has to admit that the unrest was caused by the adoption of a decision by the municipal assembly on joining the non- existent autonomous region of Krajina. Krajina does not exist, nor can an assembly adopt a decision on that because the constitutional court of Croatia proclaimed the decision on setting up Krajina null and void. This means that the decision of the municipal assembly sparked off all these

events including the disarmament of the regular police force, and eventually produced all these consequences," Mesic said in his assessment of events in Pakrac.

Croatian Militia Begins Withdrawal

AU0403212591 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Approximately 30 minutes ago, the special militia units of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry started to withdraw. A column of vehicles, including several buses, trucks, combat vehicles, and private cars, left Pakrac and proceeded toward Lipik. We still do not have any information on whether all special militiamen are withdrawing, or if some of members will remain in Pakrac.

The combat vehicles and armored transporters belonging to the Yugoslav People's Army are still in the streets of Pakrac.

Thousands Flee to Vojvodina

LD0403221591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2058 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Statement by Jovan Ostojic, member of the committee for the reception of refugees; place and date not given]

[Text] Odzaci, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—In the aftermath of events in Pakrac, 20,000 women and children, fearing clashes with Croatian special police units, have so far arrived in Vojvodina from Slavonija and Baranja. About 5,500 people have been given refuge in the municipalities of Odzaci, Apatin, and Sombor. Columns of refugees are still coming from the direction of Vukovar, Osijek, Beli Manastir, and other parts of Slavonija and Baranja.

Those without relatives in these municipalities are being housed. All refugees are given accomodation with families. If the need arises, public buildings will be opened to provide shelter. Some refugees are heading toward Novi Sad, Belgrade, and the Sumadija region.

Special police units stopped columns on several occasions.

Tudjman Comments on Unrest

LD0503063791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0437 GMT 5 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 4 (TANJUG)—Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, told a news conference in the republican capital of Zagreb today that the developments in the Croatian town of Pakrac, where special Croatian police units intervened two days ago, were "part of a scenario for the toppling of democracy in Croatia and Yugoslavia."

Tudjman said that "communist-dogmatic, Yugoslav-unitary and greater-Serbian hegemonistic elements, which are making plans to topple democracy and restore Bolshevik socialism" were involved.

Croatian President Tudjman commended the Croatian police "who thwarted those plans, without there having been dead or wounded during the intervention." According to the official information of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs, there were no casualties among the Pakrac residents, but three policemen were wounded.

Special Croatian police units entered Pakrac—a town located around 100 kilometers away from the Croatian capital of Zagreb and predominantly populated by Serbs—on Saturday and took the police station which was held by the local Serbian police. The intervention [words indistinct] the decision of Pakrac's majority Serbian population for the municipality of Pakrac administratively to be joined to the autonomous region of Krajina, which is not recognized by the Croatian authorities.

Croatian President Tudjman said that what was involved in Pakrac were attempts at provoking "internationality conflicts, which would subsequently justify a forcible intervention."

Tudjman rejected the assessments that the Yugoslav People's Army prevented a clash in Pakrac. "Units of the Yugoslav People's Army were in the area at the time. They did not have the order to act," Tudjman said, and added that the Army "did not have the order to side with the outlaws."

It has officially been announced in Belgrade, however, that on receiving approval from the Yugoslav State Presidency president, Dr. Borisav Jovic, a score of Army personnel carriers entered Pakrac on Saturday to prevent an inter-ethnic conflict.

Croatian President Tudjman told newsmen that he possessed information that some Army officers were involved in the Pakrac development. Tudjman said that "in the last hours, and [word indistinct] in the morning on the eve of the development, they conferred with those who were carrying out the scenario in Pakrac.

Tudjman repeated his proposal that the truth of his claims be established by a legislative group made up of an equal number of Croatian and federal legislative members.

Croatian President Tudjman said that the relations between the Croatian authorities and the military leadership were "normal." "The Army says that everthing is in order and that it is not interfering in the political developments," Tudjman specified.

Brovet on Militia-Army Clash

AU0503160691 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Mar 91

[Speech by Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense, at the session of the SFRY Assembly National Defense Committee; date not given—recorded]

[Text] (?Esteemed) delegates, on 2 March at 0600, about 200 members of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry stormed and occupied the communal assembly buildings and the police station in Pakrac. Immediately before this, some members of the active and reserve militia had left Pakrac carrying arms with them, while 15-20 members of the reserve militia, who had remained in the station, were disarmed and detained by the forces who stormed Pakrac and who were constantly increasing in number.

During the morning, citizens gathered who were then dispersed by force.

Because shots were fired during these events, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, immediately after it was informed about them, suggested to the SFRY Presidency that it order the movement of appropriate units of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], something that, as you know, the Presidency president agreed to.

The proposal to employ the JNA in Pakrac, as everywhere else in similar situations, proceeds from the constitutional role of the JNA to the effect that it should, among other things, prevent armed conflicts, particularly interethnic ones, from breaking out anywhere where such a conflict is under way or is looming.

In doing so, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense does not go into the causes and other circumstances that lead to the conflict, and particularly not into reasons of a political nature, although we are of the opinion that political problems should be solved with political means and not by force.

After shots were fired in Pakrac, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense reacted immediately, proceeding from the assessment that it was essential to take urgent measures to prevent an escalation of the conflict. Any delay could have had unforeseeable consequences.

With this in mind, a team of high-ranking JNA officers was sent to Pakrac immediately. They arrived there only two hours later, followed by JNA units.

When proposing the commitment of the JNA, we had in mind not only the need to prevent an interethnic conflict in Pakrac, but also the impact that an escalation of this conflict could have on the situation in the whole of Yugoslavia, particularly if it resulted in casualties. Namely, we assessed that a broad conflict with unforeseeable consequences could have broken out.

During the commitment of the JNA units in Pakrac, in the evening of 2 March, shots were fired from an armored vehicle belonging to the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry at JNA members, who immediately responded with fire at the armored personnel carrier [oklopni transporter]. Although there were no casualties, one insists most energetically that the Croatian Internal Affairs personnel who are to blame for opening fire at JNA members be called to account.

Not only on the basis of Pakrac events, we have assessed that interethnic [Brovet corrects himself], in fact, interethnic and inter-republican confrontations have reached dimensions that endanger the elementary security of the people in some regions, and make the danger of a civil war more and more probable. People are overwhelmed by fear and uncertainty because their personal safety and the security of their property—even lives—are threatened. They justifiably demand that the state of anarchy and lawlessness be curtailed, that the functioning of the rule of law be ensured, and that civil war be prevented in time.

All our proposals concerning the future commitment of the JNA—and this question was asked here—will be aimed at ensuring a peaceful, democratic, and constitutional solution to the Yugoslav crisis, as well as making it impossible for solutions to be imposed with the policy of fait accompli of with the use of force.

The JNA sees the implementation of its constitutional role and obligation at this moment above all in ensuring peace and security of all citizens of Yugoslavia. In conformity with that, JNA units will remain in Pakrac until the situation is normalized according to the decision made by the SFRY Presidency at its session on 2 and 3 March, that is, until the situation is restored to what it was before the incidents.

Tudjman Hints at Croatian Ministerial Shake-Up

LD0403131691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—Four ministers and one deputy minister of the Croatian Government will be replaced in the new reconstruction program announced today by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

Prime Minister Josip Manolic proposed that the follownig be relieved of their duties: Milan Hrnjak, minister of environmental protection, planning and construction; Marin Crnja, minister of labor and social welfare; Milovan Sibl, minister of information; Dr. Zvonimir Medvedovic, a member of the government and director of the Fund for Reconstruction and Development; and Perica Juric, deputy minister of internal affairs.

The labor portfolio will be taken over by Deputy Prime Minister Bernardo Jurlina; Hrvoje Hitrec will become minister of information; and the new deputy minister of internal affairs will be the hitherto president of the [Croatian] Assembly's Chamber of Municipalities, Slavko Degoricija. Nothing has been announced as to who will take over from Medvedovic and Hrnjak.

Antun Vrdoljak has been appointed as the new director general of Croatian Radio and Television and Milovan Sibl will be the new director of the HINA News Agency. The current director of HINA, Josip Sentija, becomes the Croatian presidential adviser.

Asked whether some of the dismissals are connected with his speech in the Croatian Assembly on 26 January this year, when he referred to the lack of morals in the ministries and between ministries, President Tudjman replied: "maybe", as you see, we are putting our words into practice. [quotation marks as received]

Croatian Villagers Cut Off Knin-Sinj Road

LD0403205991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2001 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] Knin, March 4 (TANJUG)—The inhabitants of Kijevo, a village near Knin in the Republic of Croatia, this afternoon put up barricades and cut off traffic on the Knin-Vrlika-Sinj road.

Kijevo is one of the rare villages with a solely Croatian population in the region between Knin and Sinj, while Knin and the surrounding municipalities are inhabited predominantly by Serbs.

The barricades were raised after members of reserve police units of Knin detained a representative of the Kijevo municipal authority, Josip Orlic, for an "informative talk", as set out.

The report was confirmed by the police station in the nearby city of Sibenik. The same source said that the Knin police reservists on Monday beat up an inhabitant of Kijevo, Slavko Juric.

The Knin reservists arrested Orlic, explaining that he, as the head of an armed group of citizens, abused two local officials from Knin and damaged an official vehicle in Kijevo on Sunday.

Over a month ago, Serbs declared the "Serbian autonomous region of Krajina," which the Croatian constitutional court outlawed.

According to the 1981 census, around 12 percent of Croatia's population are Serbs.

Bavcar on Croatian Agreement; Border Protection

AU0303164091 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 91 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with Slovene Internal Affairs Minister Igor Bavcar, by Vojo Lukic; place and date not given: "Bavcar: The Police Will Defend the Borders"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Lukic] Ljubljana DELO carried the text of the Slovene-Croatian agreement on mutual defense in case of armed intervention against the legal authorities in both republics. The text of the agreement was published in the book "The Yugoslav People's Army Against Croatia" by [Slaven] Letica and [Mario] Nobilo. You claim that DELO's information is incorrect.

[Bavcar] That is true. It does not concern any kind of agreement, pact, or anything similar. At one of the working meetings between the Presidencies of the republics of Croatia and Slovenia, we devised, together with our Croatian colleagues, proposed measures that the services of both republics would endorse if there was violent intervention. This was on 20 January, during those days of great tension, which culminated in the weekend when the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] proclaimed full combat readiness. You know that intervention by force cannot be restricted territorially. Not only does such intervention in the political sense bring with it all other centers of crisis, but from the point of view of those who are carrying it out, it is logical to attempt to protect themselves by closing the state borders. The JNA has indeed also strengthened, and in some cases doubled its personnel on the borders. I would also say that in the introduction to our proposal, we suggest to both republican services that all disputes be resolved in a peaceful way and that the principles that the leaderships of both republics have proposed for resolving the disputes be put into practice.

POLITIKA EKSPRES Lies

[Lukic] You and Jansa had talks on 20 January with ministers Boljkovac and Spegelj. Can you tell us something more about these talks?

[Bavcar] We meet regularly. In just the political sphere, there is a whole string of issues that can only be settled jointly, and there are also issues in the area of transport, crime, and some other administrative matters. Apart from that, relations in the country, constant threats of the use of force, and the obvious encroachment by the military security service on the civilian sphere in both republics require that we assess these issues and also propose measures to the competent bodies.

[Lukic] The newspapers have been writing that the Slovene police have taken over protecting the borders on Slovenia's territory. Is this true?

[Bavcar] Yes, it is true. We are working on a concept for police units protecting the Slovene state border. You know about the proposal by the Slovene Assembly on the SFRY separating into two or more states. It is logical that we will have to take over protecting the state borders by ourselves. The police protect the borders in most European states, and this will also be the case in Slovenia. We will, of course, switch to this gradually, in line with the resolution of all the open questions, of which there are many.

[Lukic] We have recently read that Slovenia is spending large sums of money to increase the number of policemen and to buy arms for a future Slovene army.

[Bavcar] I know about the articles in POLITIKA EKSPRES that are specifically signed by Mrs. Plavevska. They also contain other lies about commissions, tanks, rockets, and I do not know what else. The number of Slovene policemen is not increasing but it is even diminishing. A lot of money has been paid out to arm and equip the Slovene Territorial Defense, but the arms and equipment were unlawfully and unconstitutionally taken away by the JNA. Our purchases cannot be compared

with the resources that were taken away from us in this way and with the resources that Slovenia sets aside for the JNA.

[Lukic] In your opinion, is there at the moment a lesser or a greater danger of civil war in Yugoslavia, and how can one reduce mutual disputes and begin to resolve the quarrels in a peaceful way?

[Bavcar] The possibility of violent conflict in Yugoslavia is unfortunately latent. In my opinion, we have not yet crossed that critical point that would mean civil war has been avoided. There are some positive signs that those who are working on a peaceful resolution of the controversial issues will succeed. The last series of talks in the SFRY Presidency nevertheless took place in an atmosphere that indicated such willingness, even though the SFRY Presidency did not also condemn the JNA for its obvious political pretensions, which are a constant generator of conflicts. [passage omitted]

Croatia, Slovenia Disagree With Service Law

AU0303211491 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 91 p 1

[Unattributed report."Croatia Rejected Army Inspection"]

[Excerpt] During an hours-long discussion in the Federal Chamber Committee for National Defense, Lieutenant General Ljubomir Domazetovic yesterday informed the delegates that the day before yesterday Croatia rejected an inspection by the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] intended to establish the state of "recruiting potential" and requested a special order for this job from the SFRY Presidency. At the same time, Croatia has already decided not to send its recruits to the JNA.

Members of the Committee for National Defense rejected a proposal by a group of Slovene delegates that the military obligation be served in one's own republic, but supported the proposal of the Federal Executive Council according to which recruits will continue to serve in the Army throughout Yugoslavia.

At this session, JNA members expressed satisfaction with the fact that Slovene recruits do not think like the delegates in this assembly. This is confirmed by the fact that more than 90 percent of those called to attend recent military exercises in Celje responded to the call. [passage omitted]

Serbian 'Refugees' Leave Eastern Croatia

LD0403163691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Apatin, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—Groups of refugees from Slavonija [eastern Croatia] most of them women and children from Borovo, Tenja, Sarvas, and Belo Brdo have been arriving in Apatin and nearby villages and towns since early morning. They cited fear caused by unfavorable developments in intra-national relations in their area as the reason for their deaprture.

A special center for the reception of the refugees has been set up in Apatin by representatives of the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partije Srbije], the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove], and the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka], as well as citizens with no party affiliation.

Nedeljko Stevanovic, a locksmith from Borovo said: I have brought my wife and children to protect them, but I am going back. I am worried they might bomb my house and my shop. Since November 1990 I have had no orders from anywhere in Croatia, probably because I am a Serb and my seal is written in Cyrillic.

In Prigrevica and Apatin two centers have been set up to receive refugees. According to the Apatin center, as many as 150 children and elderly people have so far been accomodated in private houses.

Serbian Party Leaders on Bosnian, Pakrac Issues

LD0303211191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Report on news conference by Radovan Karadzic, chairman of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina; in Banja Luka on 3 March]

[Text] Banja Luka, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, chairman of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that many Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina think we are right in rejecting the declaration on a sovereign state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, because they favor a sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina, but within the framework of Yugoslavia. He believes that there will soon be new Muslim organizations established.

Asked to comment on the latest developments in Pakrac, Jovan Raskovic, who also attended the news conference, said he does not trust official information and that, in his view, what happened there was "a small-scale assault that could be followed by a larger one. I have in mind our autonomous Krajina, which we will not leave and which they will try to capture. Unfortunately, I expect the worst: ethnic war, which is more serious than civil war," Raskovic stated.

Asked whether Milan Babic's absence from today's meeting, although his arrival was announced, signifies their definitive departure, Raskovic said that disagreements between them exist, but not unbridgable ones. "Milan has enormous responsibility—which I do not have—to organize a possible resistance. This is the only reason he did not come."

Nikolay Koljevic, a member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency explained why the constitution of "the Bosnian Krajina as a separate region" is now put off. Serbs of the Bosnian Krajina, who won the elections, now have "better things to do". Still, the Serbian

demand for more cultural, economic, educational, and media, autonomy will not be forgotten.

Milan Babic Addresses UN on Rights in Croatia

AU0303171591 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 91 p 5

[H.D.A. report: "The Issue of the Country's Future Structure Can Be Resolved With Self-Determination of All Yugoslav Peoples"]

[Text] Geneva, 25 Feb—A delegation from the World Serbian Union together with the World Organization of Confederalists took part today in the work of a session of the Commission for Human Rights of the United Nations Organization. Milan Babic, president of the Serbian National Council in Knin, also spoke in the debate that was point twelve on the agenda. Babic also made a statement to those present in which he solemnly reiterated before the members of the United Nations Organization the importance of the referendum held in August 1990 and the fact that the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina had irrevocably proclaimed its autonomy.

The delegation from the World Serbian Union consisted of Bishop Lukijan from Pakrac, Misa Milosevic, Milan Babic, and Misa Culafic.

Babic made the following statement about the meeting:

It is obvious that neither the government of Yugoslavia nor the federal services can resolve the problem of the undermining of the national equality of the Serbian people in Croatia, so we address and inform the international public about the problems of the Serbian people in Croatia through the official non-governmental organization of the World Serbian Union. All the delegations present at the meeting were very interested in our speech. We hope that from now on we will have international support in our inviolable right to self-determination and to setting up our own autonomous region.

At the beginning of his speech, Milan Babic said: The political crisis in the Yugoslav federation has reached its peak and has practically led to the collapse of a state that emerged in 1918 with the Yugoslav territories of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy joining the Serbian Kingdom.

In this difficult situation, I want to stress that the Serbian people who live in the Yugoslav federal unit of Croatia have the resolute desire to remain part of the federation, believing that this form of statehood best facilitates the realization of the equality of all its peoples.

The communist system that was established in Yugoslavia after World War II did not allow all human rights to be exercised, nor harmony among peoples and regions to be established....

With the implementation of the first multiparty elections since the war in Croatia in April and May 1990, it was expected that full democracy and all freedoms would be established. The election victory of Croatian nationalist parties, however, established a system of institutional tyranny by representatives of the majority Croatian people over the minority Serbian people.

Majoritarianism and the hegemony of the majority over the minority wiped from the Croatian Constitution, because it was confirmed as a state of solely the Croatian people, the provision that Croatia is also the state of the Serbian people. New constitutional norms scrapped the equality of the Serbian language and script. The right to regional organization was also scrapped and it was envisaged that communal autonomy based on the federal constitution would also be abandoned. The institutionalization of this chauvinist policy in Croatia's legislature brought the most drastic violation of human rights in real life.

The Serbian people in Croatia are victims of the systematic deprivation of the right to work. There have at this moment been mass layoffs of Serbs from work for ethnic reasons. The chauvinist Croatian authorities are setting up en masse the republic's police forces made up solely of Croats, and the ruling Croatian party is setting up its own party military forces modeled on Hitler's SS units.

These methods in many ways resemble the methods of the fascist Ustasha Croatian government during World War II, which perpetrated the genocide of more than a million Serbs and more than 30,000 Jews.

Croatia aspires to separate from the Yugoslav federation and to set itself up as an independent state that would also include the ethnic territory of the Serbian people who do not agree with this....

At the end of his speech, Dr. Babic said:

As president of the Serbian National Council and on behalf of the World Serbian Community, I have the honor to say here in Geneva before the United Nations that the state organization of a federal Yugoslavia can only be resolved with the self-determination of all Yugoslav peoples. We are demanding that the Serbian people live in one state and, in this sense, Serbs, on their own ethnic and historical territories of the Krajina, which are situated within the administrative borders of Croatia, have already irrevocably expressed their opinion through their referendum of August 1990. This is completely in line with the spirit and conventions of the United Nations.

Novi Sad Meeting Supports Croatia Serbs

LD0303151491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Summary] Novi Sad, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—Over 4,000 people attended a protest meeting of support for Serbs in Croatia, which took place in Novi Sad today. Speakers

called for the immediate withdrawal of Croatia's special units from Pakrac and neighboring municipalities, and demanded that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] start disarming the members of the special units within 24 hours, as well as all Croatian Democratic Community members.

"The message from the meeting stresses that if the JNA will not or cannot do this, we shall call for the arming of Serbs in Croatia. If this is not done, you will be accomplices in a possible genocide against the Serbian people in Croatia."

Serbian Statement Assails Croatian Authorities

LD0403200791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1836 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian government sees the latest measures by the Croat authorities as yet another attempt to destabilize Yugoslavia and to directly jeopardize efforts toward a peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis, a statement handed to TANJUG today says.

In its statement the government adds:

The events in Pakrac occurred as a direct result of the failure to carry out the SFRY Presidency decisions to disarm paramilitary units, to restore peace and order and to guarantee safety for citizens throughout Yugoslavia.

The failure to implement these decisions has resulted in growing anxiety and unrest among the majority of the Yugoslav public, given rise to pessimism about the possibility of finding a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis, increased the feeling of hopelessness, and enhanced [as received] readiness and goodwill to see the SFRY Presidency measures implemented.

The situation, as it is at the moment, undermines the country's economy and its foreign economic relations, thus exacerbating the existing economic and social problems.

The Serbian government calls on the SFRY Presidency and other federal services to take urgent measures within their constitutional and legal competence to ensure that constitutionally and legally guaranteed human rights and freedoms are observed and that citizens throughout the country are given the opportunity to lead a peaceful life. This is necessary to prevent and obviate activities designed to threaten and violate basic freedoms and civil rights of the Serbian population and to prevent the repetition of recent events in Croatia.

Claims by representatives of the Croat authorities that all their measures serve the sole purpose of establishing and executing the process of democratization are designed to deceive the public at home and abroad, because in practice they amount to nothing else but attempts to threaten and further exacerbate the security and the material, social, and political position of the Serbian population in that republic.

The Serbian government expects the Croatian services to make their contribution to efforts to remove the causes behind the continuing deterioration in intra-national relations in both Croatia and in Yugoslavia as a whole. It also calls on the federal services and institutions to carry out their constitutional duties regarding human rights and freedoms on the entire Yugoslav territory.

Milosevic 'Courtesy Call' To SDS in Sarajevo

AU0303154091 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 91 p 3

[Text] After the SFRY Presidency session [held in Sarajevo on 22 February] had ended, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic visited the head office of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Bosnia-Hercegovina where he was greeted by SDS President Dr. Radovan Karadzic, Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly President Momcilo Krajisnik, Dr. Biljana Plavsic, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr. Milorad Ekmecic, Dr. Slavko Leovac, and several other members of the Political Council and Main Committee of the SDS, as well as Dragan Djokanovic, leader of the Democratic Party of Federalists.

The brief courtesy call took place behind closed doors without the presence of journalists, who were impatiently awaiting Milosevic's departure and the chance to pry some kind of statement out of the persistently silent Milosevic. The journalists' optimism was unfounded because the Serbian President (wordlessly) refused any kind of conversation with journalists, which was not the case with other members of the SFRY Presidency, who journalists nevertheless managed to gain access to, although with great difficulty, and were given brief statements.

All previous meetings between the leaders of the SDS and the Socialist Party of Serbia had been in Belgrade, so this meeting will be remembered as the first meeting outside Belgrade and the first meeting in Sarajevo.

After he had seen the guest off, Radovan Karadzic described this visit to journalists as a courtesy visit and, in reply to the question from a journalist "had there been further talk about Serbs living exclusively in a joint state," he said:

We do not see that this should be discussed because, just as it is natural that rain falls, it is quite natural for Serbs to live in the same state. Therefore, it is not possible to break up Yugoslavia, it is only possible to leave it. We in Bosnia-Hercegovina are tranquil because of the federative status that we have, because those who want something else must fight for it. We are in favor of an intact Bosnia-Hercegovina that will be sovereign in a future community, neither more or less so than Serbia.

Not wanting to comment on last night's meeting with Milosevic, Karadzic said that this was part of the regular meetings with Serbia that take place according to this party's program, as well as the Serbian Constitution.

Serbian Opposition Sets Up Coordinating Body

LD0403041191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1716 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian Assembly's 13 opposition parties have decided to set up a coordinating body called Serbia's Opposition Alliance [Savez Opozicije Srbije] to "provide the threatened Serbs with lasting help."

The motive for this move was today's rally at Usce organized by the Belgrade branch of the Socialist Party and the Association of Serbs From Croatia living in Belgrade.

This protest rally was originally to be held at Republic Square. The Association of Serbs From Croatia, without the Socialists, was its organizer. In their statement from today's meeting, sent to TANJUG, representatives of Serbia's opposition parties say "the city branch [of the Socialist Party] imposed itself all of a sudden in its well-known fashion as the organizer of the rally, thus once again destroying Serbian unity.

New Hungarian Party Formed in Serbia

AU0403111691

[Editorial Report] MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian on 28 February on page 2 carries a 300-word MTI report on the foundation of a new organization in the SFRY, under the headline: "New Hungarian Organization in Serbia."

MAGYAR NEMZET notes that it was Jozsef Molnar who took the initiative to form this Hungarian movement, under the slogan "Hungarians for their homeland, for Serbia, and for Yugoslavia." MAGYAR NEMZET also reports that Molnar wants "Hungarians in Serbia to stand clearly on the Serbian side and against Croatia in the arms sale affair."

MAGYAR NEMZET notes that "the organization has its headquarters in Belgrade," but there is no information on the membership of the movement.

Finally, MAGYAR NEMZET reports that Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians, has claimed that Jozsef Molnar's organization is "a branch of the Socialist Party of Serbia."

Vojvodina Socialists Demand Serbian Constitution

AU0303205391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 91 p 4

[Unattributed report: "A Constitution Rather Than a Statute"]

[Text] Novi Sad—The League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina and Yugoslavia demands that the northern province of Serbia adopt as its highest act a constitution rather than a statute. A statement sent to TANJUG yesterday stresses that "the two-year public legal usurpation of Vojvodina confirms that the essence of autonomy can and must be expressed through a constitution, which should be adopted by a multiparty assembly of Vojvodina.

The citizens of Vojvodina, stresses the statement signed by Nenad Canak, member of the Main Committee of the League, have the inalienable right to decide by themselves on whether they want to transfer some rights to the republic.

Finally, the League of Social Democrats demands that the SFRY Presidency "take a stand on the current political, legal, economic, and cultural colonization of Vojvodina." Otherwise this issue will be inexorably internationalized, the statement points out.

Bosnian Muslim Group Adopts Sovereignty Memo

AU0403212991 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 14 Feb 91 p 2

[Z. J. report: "Bosnia Will not Fall Quietly"]

[Excerpts] The political gathering of the Muslim Bosnian Organization, at which a memorandum on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina was adopted in front of the packed "Skenderija Youth Center" the day before yesterday, was a voice against those who want to shape Bosnia-Hercegovina to suit their interests and bring its sovereignty into question. [passage omitted]

"The essence of the Memorandum is to call on all legitimately elected services and individuals to respect the people's will, to perform their duties, and adhere to the constitution that guarantees the sovereignty and inviolability of Bosnia-Hercegovina's borders. Those whom we have elected to represent us demonstrate uncertainty, they are joining the forces that want to block the historic opportunity of our nation to itself set our sovereign borders, academician Muhamed Filipovic said. He urged "those who represent us not to be afraid and to stop bowing to all sides." If Serbia declared itself sovereign, if Croatia, Slovenia, and Macedonia did the same, then we, Bosnians, must do the same with Bosnia-Hercegovina. Bosnia-Hercegovina should be equal to other republics in all respects. Bosnia-Hercegovina is not a tiny, little state (as some individuals would like to present it). For us it is the greatest state that exists. That is why it is necessary that the Bosnia-Hercegovinan Assembly adopt a constitutional declaration that would express a firm stand and define the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina," academician Filipovic said. [passage omitted]

After this gathering, the Bosnian Cultural-Literary Society [Matica Bosnjacka] held a founding assembly in the "Skenderija Youth Center". This is a citizens' cultural and educational association whose aim is, as emphasized, to unite the efforts of our nation on developing and introducing our Bosnian language and its name into the public life.

It was stressed that the Cultural-Literary Society must pay the greatest attention to studying, standardizing, and introducing the Bosnian language into everyday communication.

The participants in the founding assembly adopted the program and statute of the Bosnian Cultural-Literary Society and elected its council and supervisory committee that consists of prominent personalities from public life in the republic, country, and further afield. The solemn inauguration of the Bosnian Cultural-Literary Society, at which its charter will also be adopted, will be held soon.

Bosnia Threat To Stop Federal Budget Payment

LD0403224691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—The government of Bosnia-Hercegovina today decided to ask the assistance of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency in overcoming a very difficult economic and financial situation brought about by malfunctioning of the federal legal system. While Bosnia-Hercegovina regularly pays its dues to the federal budget and other federal funds, the federation owes this republic enormous sums of money from the federal fund for the undeveloped, the fund for stimulating exports, from the exchange rate differentials, war veterans' supplements, and other funds. In February alone, it was stated, Bosnia-Hercegovina payments out of the basic turnover tax into the federal budget amounted to one quarter of the overall federal funds, because some other republics did not settle their obligations.

It was, therefore, concluded that unless the federation settles its debts within a week, Bosnia-Hercegovina should on the basis of a recently adopted special republican law, stop its payments to the federal budget and other funds.

It is expected that the Federal Executive Council will, among other things, provide more realistic compensation for businesses in this republic that incurred losses due to non-commercial risks in Iraq, this afternoon's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina government said. On this basis, Bosnia-Hercegovina's share of the overall Iraqi debt to Yugoslavia is 50 percent.

Tirana Seen as Meddling in Internal Affairs

AU0303212791 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 91 p 14

[Z. Z. report: "Rugova and Tirana Working Together on the Same Assignment"]

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb—Within a span of a few days, Tirana was visited by leaders of the Albanian Alternative, Ibrahim Rugova and Veton Surroi. Rugova and his entourage, among which was also Ali Aliu, a man who spent many years in prison for carrying out hostile activities, were received by Ramiz Alia in his cabinet.

While the people's revolt in Albania was at its peak, Ramiz Alia found time to talk with Ibrahim Rugova, but had not given the same opportunity to the students and democratic forces, which have been besieging state institutions for days.

It is not difficult to find out why Rugova went to Tirana. The main topic of the discussion was the future status of Kosovo-Metohija, as well as the appeal to the leaders of democratic movements in Albania to postpone their rebellion. Such an agreement stems from a letter that the students of Pristina University recently sent to the students in Tirana.

Rugova's visit to Albania and honors he was paid clearly demonstrate that our neighbor is trying to meddle in Yugoslav internal affairs. There were no grounds for the visit; Rugova and his associates are not the legitimate representatives of the Serbian state, which includes Kosovo-Metohija.

One should not be surprised by the way Tirana treated Rugova, when even the Yugoslav federal services have recognized the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK], which in its program envisages the autonomy and independence of this province, and with this the creation of a new Albanian state on the territory of Serbia. Of course, Vlado Kambovski, federal secretary for justice and administration, has not yet explained to the public what kind of answer he received from the DSK concerning objections raised to the program of this separatist organization.

Talks between separatists from Kosovo and Albanian officials suit many coalition forces in the country that are bothered by Serbia, because they count on the opening of yet another front, this time in Albania. Therefore, Tirana too would find itself working on the same assignment of destroying Serbia and Yugoslavia.

So, the project is already finished. These malicious people think it is only a question of days before a joint action commences. March 23 has already been mentioned as the beginning of the destructive mission. At the same time they also count on possible further divisions among Serbs and Serbian parties. Regardless of what they are preparing themselves for, they should take into account past experience, which teaches us that all Serbs responded as one when their independence was threatened.

Questions About Trajkovic's Political Career

AU0503074191 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 91 p 5

[Milos Antic article: "High Flying—Quick Landing"]

[Excerpts] With the victory of the Serbian resistance movement in Kosovo-Metohija, a young politician,

Momcilo Trajkovic, took off with dizzying speed to the highest political peaks. During the period of the so-called nonconstitutional interval, which is still in effect, and which was introduced with the suspension of the Kosovo Assembly and Executive Council following a separatist-secessionist coup, Momcilo Trajkovic, by being elected vice president of the Serbian Executive Council in charge of Kosovo, became number one in the province. Albanians, particularly their self-proclaimed leaders, declared him governor of Kosovo.

Regarding Trajkovic and everything he was intended for, all this lasted very shortly, only six months. With the election of the new government he was dropped from the first team. Some say that he was kicked out. At present, apart from being a people's deputy (who had more votes than any other deputy from Kosovo), he does not hold any post. This would not be unusual at all for normal political circumstances. It would even be desirable if many people went through this cadre rotation. The "Trajkovic case" is not of that type. [passage omitted]

What was essential for Trajkovic's fast political rise and even faster fall took place between August of last and February of this year. By being elected the fifth vice president of the Republican Executive Council of Serbia, Momcilo Trajkovic in fact, in the absence of the Kosovo Assembly and the Kosovo Executive Council, became the first man of the province. As such, he very quickly became a media star. He was all over the place.

Parallel to this, as well as to the increasingly pronounced divisions on the so-called newly arrived and the natives, was the "first assault" on Trajkovic carried out in the form of an attack aimed at proving that he favored the "natives" and ignored the newly arrived people, and that therefore he had to be removed. A simple examination of the cadre records, which were "signed" by Trajkovic, showed that Trajkovic appointed almost twice as many of the so-called new arrivals than the natives, and that therefore such accusations had to be dropped. Of course, along with this there were other tricks and speculations. On the basis of what has been heard and learned, it is impossible to say what was decisive for Trajkovic not to be elected in the new team of the Serbian leadership. It appears that Trajkovic would be the best person to tell us that. [passage omitted]